

THE DECLINE OF
THE SALJŪQID EMPIRE

THE DECLINE OF THE SALJŪQID EMPIRE

(*Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London*)

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

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DEDICATED
TO
THE SACRED MEMORY
OF
HĀJĪ MUHAMMAD MUHSIN

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INTRODUCTION

Dr. Sanaullah has paid me the compliment of inviting me to write a few words* by way of introduction to his Thesis.

This I have much pleasure in doing, not only because he was a student of the School of Oriental Studies under my Directorship, but also because it gives me an opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the excellent work he did while he was there.

The subject he selected for his Thesis was one which awaited special treatment. The twenty-seven years which it covers form one of the most confusing periods of Persian History. The internal wranglings among the various claimants to the throne left vacant by the untimely death of Melik Shah in A.D. 1092, the rise to power of the Atabegs, and the consequent loss of one province after another till on the accession of Sultan Sanjar in 1117 little was left of the Great Seljuk Empire outside Khurasan, constitute a sad climax to the glorious reigns of Tughril Beg, Alp Arslan and Melik Shah. These Great Sovereigns had the good fortune of being served by two great Ministers—al-Kunduri,¹ a statesman and

* 'Amid al-Mulk Abu Naṣr.

politician of rare gifts, and Nizam-ul-Mulk, one of the most brilliant figures in Islamic History. With the murder of Nizam-ul-Mulk, instigated possibly by jealousy at the Court, the glory of the Seljuks began to wane, and it is this somewhat unedifying spectacle of their rapid decline that Dr. Sanaullah has undertaken to show us. The original materials in Arabic and Persian are plentiful for this subject and they have been used in a most scholarly way by the writer. It is interesting to encounter in his bibliography such familiar names as those of al-Ghazālī, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, Qalānisī and Rāwandī.

Within the frame-work of his chronological survey Dr. Sanaullah deals with a number of topics of first-rate importance among the more interesting being the important part played by the ladies of the Royal household in public affairs, the position of the Caliph (who under the Seljuks had been reduced to a mere religious institution, whose temporal authority was confined to Baghdad, and whose administrative duties were limited to the entry of the name of the legitimate Sultan of the moment in the Khutbah), the organisation of the armed forces and the administration of justice.

A lively account is also given of the Bātini Assassins who on occasion were open to employment by others than the Grand Master.

The story of Abu Hashim and Ahmed the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk reads like a passage from the *Arabian Nights*.

Altogether Dr. Sanaullah has succeeded not only in throwing new light on a very confused period of Muslim History, but also in giving us a readable narrative and a remarkably vivid picture of public life under the Great Seljuks.

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April 26, 1938.

ABSTRACT OF A THESIS FOR THE
DEGREE OF PH.D. (1934)

Subject :—“ THE DECLINE OF THE SALJUQID
EMPIRE ”

(485/1092-511/1117)

After a critical examination of the available sources and a chronological survey of the period, the Thesis sets out to analyse the institutions of the Saljūqid State, so far as they can be identified. Among them are the Royal Family and Court including relations of princes and activities of wives, constitution of the armed forces, relations with Amīrs and Turkmen and Arab tribes, civil administration, relations with the Caliphate, religious opposition, and economic factors. The bearing of each upon the fortunes of the dynasty and the conditions in the Middle East is examined as fully as possible. Finally, the political history of the period is surveyed in the light of the factors analysed above.

The Thesis thus aims at presenting for the first

time a critical history of a period hitherto known only in general outline, and at isolating the features which marked the political life of the Eastern Islamic world during this period.

PREFACE

The ‘Abbāsid Empire, once supreme in the Near and Middle East during the ninth century, had been reduced in size and strength during the tenth century and the first few decades of the eleventh.

The Fāṭimid anti-Caliphs of Egypt and the Eastern Roman Emperors in Byzantium were extending their sway in Asia at the expense of the ‘Abbāsid territories. At Baghdād, the metropolis of Islam, the officers of the Turkish slave soldiery had become the Caliph-makers. At this critical juncture the Saljūqid power rose on the ruins of the Ghaznavid Sultanate and soon swallowed the Buyid supremacy at Baghdad. Those rough and unsophisticated tribes who had embraced Islam with all the enthusiasm of new converts, once more revived the dying empire of the ‘Abbāsids. The successive reigns of Tughril (429/1037-455/1063), Alp Arslān (455/1063-465/1072) and Malikshah (465/1072-485/1092) fully illustrate the resumption of power and prosperity which had characterised the rule of the early Caliphs. If the rapidity of the Saljūqids' rise had been bewildering, their decline was equally remarkable. Within sixty years of their rise, symptoms of decline became more and more visible until their

final downfall, with the captivity of Sultān Sanjar by Ghuzz tribes and his ultimate death in 552/1157.

The history of the Saljūqid Empire can, therefore, be divided into three periods of rise, decline and fall. The present Thesis deals with the central and transitional period of decline. This period covers the years 485/1092-511/1117, including the reigns of Maḥmūd (485-487), Barkiyāruq (487-498), and Muḥammad (498-511).

Several historians, such as Gibbon, Malcolm, Markham, Ameer ‘Alī, Browne and Sykes, have, indeed, touched upon some events of this period, but their works can hardly be considered as complete. The history of the decline of the Saljūqid Empire remains, in fact, unwritten, and an attempt to fill this gap direct from the original Arabic and Persian sources is made in the following pages. Special attention is devoted to the study of the institutions of the Saljūqs which lay at the root of all troubles.

I am greatly indebted in preparing this work to Professor H. A. R. Gibb, M.A., for his able guidance and amiable supervision throughout the long course of three years, Dr. A. S. Tritton, D.Litt., for revising and correcting my translations from Ibn-ul Athīr, Dr. A. S. Atiya, M.A., Ph.D., for reading my work, and for advice on the technical aspect of my researches, and Professor V. Minorsky, for occasional consultations and suggestions.

Owing to frequent reference to Ibn-al-Athir's Al-Kāmil, Vol. X, Cairo edition of 1301 A.H., it has been abbreviated as I. A.; such is the case with Ibn-al-Qalanisi's Dhail Tarikh Dimashq, edited by Amedroz (Leyden, 1908), which has been abbreviated as I. Q.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Although the historical sources relating to the great Saljūqs of Persia are exceptionally abundant for the period 429/1037-552/1157, unfortunately for the years under review the accounts are generally very brief and abrupt. While such valuable authorities as Baihāqi¹ belong to the preceding, many others like Ibnu'l Athīr belong to the succeeding generations. The three known contemporary sources—the “Lightning Flash of Chronicles”² in Arabic by Abu'l Futūḥ Barakāt b Ismā'īl (d. 500/1106-7), the “History of the Saljūq”³ Dynasty of Abu Tāhir Khātūnī and the “Decline of the Times of Ministers and Ministers of the Times of Decline”⁴ by Sharafuddīn Abū Naṣr Anūshirwān b Khālid Kāshānī (d. 533/1131-9), have not come down to us intact and our knowledge of them is either incomplete or secondary.

The last named is available to some extent in the Arabic revised version of ‘Imāduddīn Kātib of Isfahān (Abū ‘Abdullāh Md. b Md., d. 597/1200-1). The title of his book is “Help in Weariness and

¹ Abū'l Faḍl Md. b Husain, d. 470/1077-8, *Tarikh-i-Āli Sabuktagin*.

² *Lam'ut Tawārikh*.

³ *Tarikh-i-Āli Saljūq*.

⁴ زوال عصور الوزراء و وزراء عصور الزوال

Refuge of Creation,”¹ of which an abridgment by Fath b ‘Ali b Md. al-Bundārī (d. 623/1226), entitled “The Cream of the Book of Help and Selection from the Book of Refuge,”² is in print. Despite Bundārī’s assertion that he has simplified the florid and bombastic style of Isfahānī so that the book may be easily understood, it appears that his own work suffers from the same failures as the original source.

Diametrically opposed both in simplicity of style and wealth of detail is the “Great Universal History”³ of Ibnul Athīr (‘Izzuddin ‘Abul Ḫusain ‘Ali b Md., d. 630/1232) up to 628/1230. I have translated almost literally his annals for the whole period of twenty-six years (485/1092-511/1117) inclusive, omitting only such irrelevant portions as the obituary notices on unimportant persons. I have made use of these translations in the following pages, as Ibnul Athīr appears to have remained the most reliable authority who has so far successfully stood the test of time and modern historical criticism. I have taken his work as the foundation of my study and compared and collated with it as many of the other sources extant in manuscript and in print as is possible in the present circumstances. Besides, Ibnul Athīr’s accuracy

¹ Nuṣratu'l Fatrah wa 'Usratu'l Fatrah.

² Zubdatu'n Naṣrah wa Nakḥbatu'l 'Usrah.

³ Al-Kāmil fit Tārīkh.

and scrupulousness are certified in his introduction to "Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion" by that high authority, W. Barthold, whose is the last comprehensive work on the subject.¹

The unique British Museum manuscript Stowe Or 7, which is attributed to Şadruddin Abū'l Ḥasan 'Ali b Nāṣir al-Ḥusainī (d. 590/1194) as his *Cream of Chronicles*,² is a monograph on the Saljūqs. According to Houtsma³ it is an abridgment of Imaduddin, while Karl Sussheim contends⁴ that the *Cream of Chronicles* was only one of the sources of the anonymous British Museum Chronicle Stowe Or 7. Sussheim's view is supported by the opening page of the manuscript where it reads:⁵ "Amīr Sayyad, the great learned leader Şadru'ddin Abū'l Ḥasan 'Ali, son of Sayyad, the great martyred leader Abul Fawaris Nāṣir, son of 'Ali al-Ḥusainī, may God be merciful to him, mentioned in his book which he named

¹ Page 3.

² Zubdatu't Tawārikh.

³ Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des seldjoucides, vol. ii, p. v.

⁴ Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Britischen Museum zu London verwahrten Chronik des Seldschuqischen Reiches, pp. 13 et. seq.

ذكر الامير السيد الامام الاجل الكبير مصدر الدين ابو الحسن ⁵ علي بن السيد الامام الشهيد ابو (ابي sic) الفوارس ناصر بن على الحسين الحسيني رحمة الله في كتابه الذي سماه زينة التواريخ اخبار الامراء و الملوك السلاجوقية ذكر انه اول من

the Cream of Chronicles, the history of the Saljūqid amirs and kings. He narrated that.....” On the frontispiece, however, it is described as the “History of the Saljūqid Rule by the great chief and the learned doctor Ṣadru’ddin Abū'l Ḥasan ‘Ali, son of the Sayyad Martyred leader Abū'l Fawāris Nāṣir, son of ‘Ali al-Husainī, may God the Great be merciful to them both.”¹ This seems to have misled scholars into thinking that the work was composed by Ṣadruddin himself, and both Barthold² and Amedroz³ apparently have adopted this misnomer from the British Museum catalogue (Supp. 550 Rieu., p. 342). Md. Iqbal also has misquoted it in a footnote of the preface to *Raḥtus Ṣudur*.⁴

The real contemporary record is the History of Ibnul Qalanisi (Abū Ya’la Ḥamza b Asad, d. 555/1160) known as the Continuation of the History of Damascus.⁵ The main portions of this valuable source relating to the Crusades have been recently translated by Professor H. A. R. Gibb, with a very illuminating introduction and

اَخْبَارُ الدُّولَةِ السُّلْجُوقِيَّةِ لِلصَّدِرِ الْكَبِيرِ الْعَالَمِ صَدَرُ الدِّينِ
ابِي (ابو *sic*) الْحَسَنِ عَلَى بْنِ السَّيِّدِ الْأَمِامِ الشَّهِيدِ اَبِي
(ابو *sic*) الْفَوَارِسِ نَاصِرِ بْنِ الْعَسِينِي رَحْمَهُمَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى

² p. 29.

³ pp. 8, 22, 129.

⁴ p. 11, footnote 2.

⁵ Dhail Tārikhi Dimashq.

with notes.¹ The work, as its name implies, is mainly concerned with the affairs of Damascus rather than those of Bağhdād and Isfahān. Nevertheless, it throws an interesting sidelight on the prevailing conditions of the time. Besides, there are lengthy incidental passages directly dealing with some of the important events of the period. Furthermore, the value of the work has been enhanced by subsequent additions from the histories of Ibnul Arzaq al-Fariqi, Sibṭ Ibnu'l Jawzī and Hāfiẓ Dhahabī by the editor Amedroz.

Many scattered items of information may also be gleaned from the Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux, Sources Arabes, Vol. III. Most of the information is necessarily abrupt and incomplete, as the work is concerned with the Crusades alone.

Some valuable references may be drawn from the Mirror of Time² of Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzī (Shamsuddin Abul Muẓaffar Yusuf b Qizughlū b 'Abdu'l-lāh, d. 655/1257). The work is preserved in various manuscripts covering the years 440 A.H. and onwards in different libraries. But the Yale 138 Mukhtaṣar covering the years 495-645 A.H. belongs to a different recension from the rest. It is available in the facsimile edition of Dr. J. R. Jewett with a short introduction.

¹ The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades.

² Mir'atuz Zamān.

Ibn Khaldun (Waliuddīn Abū Zaid ‘Abdu’r Raḥmān al-Haḍarāmī al-Maghribī d. 808/1406) is more famous for his *Prolegomena*¹ than for his voluminous general history.² He was a real historical philosopher. But as a historian he is pedantic, inaccurate and insufficient on matters of detail. He does not seem to practise the canons of historical writing which he puts forward in his *Prolegomena*. Hence only little attention is devoted to his variance from other sources in this study.

Varied and valuable details may be gleaned from the famous Biographical Dictionary³ of Ibn Khallikan (Shamsuddin Abul ‘Abbas Ahmad b Md., d. 681/1282). Though he has only slightly treated the lives of Barkiyāruq and Md., the biographies of Malikshah and Sanjar are furnished with many details in his work. To English readers this Dictionary is accessible in the excellent translation of Baron M. de Slane. The work is not entirely devoted to biographical studies, but also includes statements on other subjects of interest, such as the Muslim Educational System of that period, as can be seen from the index at the end of the translation. The work is, in fact, of an encyclopaedic character.

¹ Muqaddimah.

² Al-‘Ibar wad-Diwan al-Mubtada wal-Khabar, etc.

³ Wafayātu'l A'yān.

Ghazāli's (Abū Hāmid Md. b Md., d. 505/111) Revivification of Religious Sciences,¹ especially the chapter on the Government of the Sultāns (Idārāt al-Salāṭīn) being the contemporary record of a man who took part in polities, throws an interesting sidelight on the chaotic conditions of the time. Disgusted with the corrupt and oppressive government of the time, Ghazāli retired from active life and completely dissociated himself from worldly affairs in 488/1095-6. He then proceeded to Syria and composed this famous book in the course of his journey.² The book truly reflects the bent of his mind at that time. He advocates a policy of passive non-co-operation with the régime of the day; declaring, as a jurist (Sharia lawyer), all sorts of social intercourse and business transactions with the officers of the government illegal (*ḥarām*),³ in order to bring moral pressure to bear upon them. But at the same time he considers government by force as a necessary evil, and does not advise open insurrection against the established authority.⁴

The Solace of Hearts and Token of Joy⁵ of Rāwāndī (Abū Bakr Md. b 'Ali, d. 599/1202-3) is chiefly a monograph on the Saljūqs, though it contains other extraneous materials, such as proverbs,

¹ *Iḥyā 'Ulum al-Dīn.*

² I. A. x. 104 (Ibn al-Athir).

³ *Iḥyā* II, 120, 122, 132.

⁴ *Ibid.* 124.

⁵ *Raḥtus Ṣudūr wa Ayatus Surūr.*

poems and similar subjects. The author's knowledge of this period is of a secondary nature and he appears to have drawn freely from the Saljūqnama of Zahiruddin Nīshāpūri. Moreover, this period is treated very briefly and in an uninteresting way. Although Zahiri's book has not come down to us, the later historians, Hamdu'llah Mustawfi and Hāfiẓ Abrū have used it as an authentic historical source. M. Blochet is of the opinion that Mustawfi and Mirkhwānd directly copied from the Solace of Hearts. But I prefer the reasoning of Md. Iqbāl¹ that as these two authors have not mentioned the name of this book in the prefaces of their respective works, they must have used it indirectly. Again, both the Cream of Chronicles² of Hāfiẓ Abrū and the Select History³ of Mustawfi were used by the authors of the Garden of Purity,⁴ the Friend of Biographies and the History of Thousand Years.⁵ Md Iqbal quotes literally from the Solace of Hearts and the Select History and the Friend of Biographies.⁶ The anonymous compendium on the Saljūq History which appears at the end of the Paris manuscript of the History of the World Conqueror⁷ in the Bibliothèque Nationale

¹ Preface to Rahītus Śudūr, pp. 28-31.

² Zubdatu't Tawārikh.

³ Tawārikhi-Gazidah.

⁴ Rauḍatu's Safa.

⁵ Tārīkh Alfi.

⁶ Habibu's Siyar.

⁷ Tārīkh Jahāngushay.

(Supplement Persian, 1556), the Abridgment called al-'Urāda fil **Hikāyatīs Saljūqiyah** by Md. b. 'Abdullah b. Nizām al Husainī al Yazdī (d. 743/1342-3), the section of the Saljūqs in the great *Jami'ut Tawārikh* of Rashīduddin Faḍlullāh, the portion incorporated into the Turkish history *Tawārikh-i-Āli Saljūq* are directly drawn from Raḥṭus Ṣudūr; Qādī Alīmad Ghaffārī (16th century A.D.) might have used it in compiling his *Tārikh-i-Jahān Ara*.

Professor Vuller's edition of *Mīrkhwānd*, named *Mirchondi Historia Seldschukidarum*,¹ adds to our knowledge of the subject by confirming various facts. On the other hand, its value as a source must not be exaggerated, as the author himself only used the earlier authorities.

In his Four Discourses² on secretaries, poets, astrologers and physicians Nizāmi 'Arudi Samarqandi (Abul Ḥasan Alīmad b. 'Umar b. 'Ali, 12th century) relates some stories about the Saljūqs.

Md 'Awfi (13th century), in his *Lubabul Albāb*, quotes some panegyric poems on Malikshah and Sultān Sanjar, but there is nothing to be found in it as regards the period under review. Such is also the case with the poetical work³ of *Tughra'ī* (Muayyiduddin Husain b. Ali, d. 514/1120). As a contemporary poet and as a wazīr it would appear

¹ Saljūquid portion of Raudatu's *Ṣafā*.

² *Chahar Maqalah*.

³ *Diwan*.

at first sight that the reader might expect to find some penetrating passages indirectly touching upon the history of this period. On closer study the reader's efforts are only rewarded with disappointment, since Tughra'īs work is merely a series of panegyrics on Nizāmulmulk, Mu'ayyidu'l-mulk, Majdu'l-mulk, Mu'inu'l-mulk and Tāju'l-mulk in absurd terms and humiliating flattery.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EVENTS

- 485/1092 Deaths of Nizām-al-Mulk and Malik-shah. Turkān Khātūn has Mahmūd proclaimed as Sultān. Battle between Barkiyāruq and Turkān and subsequent compromise. Khafājite raid on pilgrims at Kūfa. Great fire at Baghdād.
- 486/1093 Battle between Barkiyāruq and Ismā‘īl b. Yaqutī; Ismā‘īl b. Yaqutī defeated by Barkiyāruq. His proposed marriage with Turkān and subsequent death. Murder of Tāj-al-Mulk—ministry of ‘Izz-al-Mulk. Second compromise between Turkān and Barkiyāruq. Tutuš rebels against Barkiyāruq. Battle of Mudayya and capture of Mawṣil from the Arabs. Tutuš captures Diyār Bakr and Adharbajān and returns to Syria. Ardshir, the ‘Ibadī preacher, comes to Baghdad, and is ordered to leave the city. Riot at Baghdād, Karkh and the Baṣrah Gate. Barkiyāruq enters Baghdad with Sadaqa and ‘Izz-al-Mulk. Birth of Mustarshid-billāh. Execution of Yalbard. Pilgrims harassed near Mecca.
- 487/1094 Khuṭbāh in Barkiyāruq’s name. Death

of Caliph Muqtadi, accession of **Musta-**
žhir. Tutush_h defeats Āqsunqur and
Būzān near Sabatin and executes them.
He gains a second victory near Irbil;
Khuṭbāh recited for him at Baghdad.
Death of Turkān Khātūn. Maḥmūd
welcomes fugitive Barkiyāruq at Isfa-
hān. Death of Maḥmūd from small-
pox. Barkiyāruq sole Sultān. Execu-
tion of Tukush_h with his son. Battle
between Unar and Turanshah. Burn-
ing of the Baṣrah Gate. Earthquake
in Syria. Riot between the inhabitants
of Nahr Tābiq and Bāb-al-Arja. Occu-
pation of Mecca by Isbabadh b Sauta-
kin, its recapture by Amīr Qāsim.
Mu'ayyid-al-Mulk appointed Wazīr.

- 488/1095 Death of Ahmad Khān of Samarqand.
Expedition of Yūsuf b Abiq to Bagh-
dād as Shiḥnāh. Battle of Rayy be-
tween Barkiyāruq and Tutush_h; death of
Tutush_h. Fakhr-al-Mulk appointed
Wazir in place of Mu'ayyid. Barki-
yāruq wounded by a Bātinī. Riot at
Nīshāpūr. Death of Abu Shuja', the
Wazir of the Caliph. Ruḍwān occupies
Aleppo and Duqāq Damascus.
- 489/1096 Deaths of Yūsuf b Abiq and Majan
Halabī. Death of Mausūr b Marwān,
Wāli of Diyār Bakr. Occupation of

- Mawṣil by Karbūqa. Khafājite raid on the province of Ṣadaqah and depredations at Karbala. The great flood near Mecca.
- 490/1096-7 Barkiyāruq's expedition to Khurāsān and assassination of Arṣṭān Arghūn. Barkiyāruq appoints Sanjar as Wāli of Khurāsān. Revolt of Amīr Amīrān in Khurāsān. Revolt of Yāruqtāsh and Qudan. Beginning of the reign of Md. b Khwārazmshāh. Battle between Ruḍwān and Duqāq. Khuṭbah in Egyptian anti-Caliph's name within Ruḍwān's province. Riot in Khurāsān between the inhabitants of Sabzawar and Khusragird. Murder of Bursuq, the first Shīḥyah of Bağhdād.
- 491/1097-8 Franks invade Syria and Mesopotamia and capture Antioch and Edessa. Battle between Sanjar and Daulatshah in Khurāsān. Caliph's deputation to Barkiyāruq regarding the Crusaders.
- 492/1098-9 Revolt and death of Unar. Capture of Jerusalem by the Franks. Battle between the Egyptians and the Franks. Activities of Md. b Malikshah. Khuṭbah at Bağhdad in his name. Murder of Majd-al-Mulk Balasani. Barikiyāruq's letter to the Caliph. Famine in Khurāsān.

- 493/1099- Restoration of Khuṭbāh at Baghdād in
 1100 Barkiyāruq's name. First battle between Barkiyāruq and Md. Barkiyāruq's defeat ; Khuṭbāh at Baghdād in Md.'s name ; death of Kūharāin. Defeat of Barkiyāruq by Sanjar ; death of Amīrdād. Dismissal and death of 'Amid-al-Daulah b Jahīr, Wazīr of the Caliph. Bohemond captured by Ibn Dānišmand. Disorder at Baghdād. Famine in 'Irāq. Bohemond of Antioch besieges Afamia. Murder of Bulkābak.
- 494/1100-! Second battle between Barkiyāruq and Md., the latter defeated ; execution of Mu'ayyid-al-Mulk. Md. meets Sanjar. Barkiyāruq's arrival at Baghdād. Revolt of Ṣadaqah against Barkiyāruq. Md.'s arrival at Baghdād and Barkiyāruq's departure. Massacre and persecution of the Bātinīs throughout the Empire. Battle between Duqāq and Baldwin. Battle between Suqmān and the Franks. The occupation of Sarūj, Haifa, Arsuf and Qaisariyah by the Franks.
- 495/1101-2 Death of Must'ali, the Fatimid Caliph. Third battle between Barkiyāruq and Md. Fourth battle after violation of the treaty. Barkiyāruq besieges Md.

at Isfahān. Murder of 'Abd-al-Jalīl Dihistānī, Wazīr of Barkiyāruq, and appointment of Khatir Ābu Manṣūr. Riot between the 'Askar of Ilghāzī and the public of Baghdād. Wali of Başrah marches to Wāsit. Death of Karbūqā ; Mawṣil occupied by the Turkman Mūsā and then by Jakarmish. Suqmān occupies Hisn Kaifa. Siege of Tripoli by Crusaders. Restoration of the fort of Khaftidhkan to Sarkhāb. Death of Qadir Khān of Samarqand. Abu'l Ma'āli appointed Wazīr of the Caliph. Construction of Hillah. Murder of the Qādi of the tribe of Rabi' at Hīt.

496/1102-3 Rayy under Yanāl ; his expulsion from it and arrival at Baghdād. Arrival of Qumushtakīn as Shīhnāh of Baghdād ; riots between him and Ilghāzī and between Suqmān and Ṣadaqah. Ṣadaqah occupies Hīt. Fifth battle between Barkiāruq and Md. Dismissal and detention of Sadīd-al-Mulk, Wazīr of the Caliph, and Abu Sa'd Ibn-al-Mūṣallāyā officiates for him. Duqāq occupies Rahba. Battle between the Egyptians and the Franks. Death of the Sultanah Tughril. Revolt of Saghirbeg in

Transoxania. Abūl Qāsim b Jahir appointed Wazīr of the Caliph.

497/1103-4 Balak b Bahrām occupies ‘Ānah. Treaty between Barkiyāruq and Md. Suqmān and Jakarmish wage war against the Franks. Death of Duqāq and the reign of his son. Sadaqah occupies Waṣit. Dismissal of Tughraī Wazīr of Sanjar. Riots at Baghdād. Buzghush's campaign against the Ismā‘ilis.

498/1204-5 Death of Barkiyāruq; Khuṭbāh in the name of Malikshah b Barkiyāruq. Md. besieges Jakarmish at Mawṣil; his arrival at Baghdād; makes peace with his nephew and Ayāz. Deaths of Ayāz and Suqmān. Bātinī depredations in Khurāsān. Battle between the Muslims and the Franks. Battle between the Franks and the Egyptians. Turkmen ravages in Ṭarīq Khurāsān in ‘Irāq; Balak b Bahrām appointed special police officer. Aqsunuqur Bursuqī appointed Shihnah of ‘Irāq, Kūfa given to Qimaz as fief. Sultan Md.'s arrival at Isfahān. Small-pox in Iraq followed by epidemic of cholera.

499/1105-6 Revolt of Mankubars and the false prophet at Nihāwand. Battle between Tughtakin and the Franks. Tribal battle

between the 'Abādites and the Khafājites. Occupation of Başrah by Șadaqah. Ruđwān besieges Naşībīn and returns. Tughtakīn occupies Bušra. Frankish occupation of Afāmiyah. Sack of Başrah by the Arabs, Arrival of a prince of Morocco at Baghdād. Qilij Arslān marches to Ruha against the Franks, occupies Harrān, falls ill and returns to Malatiyah.

500/1106-7 Murder of Fakhr-al-Mulk b Nizām-al-Mulk. Șadaqah occupies Takrit. Battle between the 'Abādites and the Khafājites. Jāwalī Saqawa marches to Mawṣil, takes Jakarmiš captive, besieges Mawṣil; death of Jakarmiš. Qilij Arslān occupies Mawṣil; his death; Jāwalī occupies Mawṣil. Persecution of the Bātinīs. Rupture between Șadaqa and Muhadhdhib-al-Daula of Bātiha. Execution of Sa'ād-al-Mulk and ministry of Ahmađ b Nizām-al-Mulk. Dismissal of Abul Qāsim 'Ali b Jahīr, Caliph's Wazīr; Abūl Ḥasan b Dāmagħānī officiates; Abul Ma'ali Hibatallāh appointed Wazīr. Death of Sarkħāb b Badr.

501/1107-8 Death of Șadaqah and Tamīm b al-Mu'iz. Arrival of Ibn 'Ammār at Baghdād. Abolition of customs duties. Qādi

Abū'l 'Abbās appointed Muhtasib of Baghdād. Return of Sabawa. Fire of Kharabah-ibn-Jardah. Md. left Baghdad for Isfahān. Suspension of Caliph's Wazīr, Frankish attack on Tyre and Saida.

502/1108-9 Maudūd occupies Mawṣil; departure of Jāwalī; Count of Ruha set free. Battle between Jāwalī and the Franks. Jāwalī returns to Md. Battle between Tugh-takīn and the Franks; the armistice. Tughtakīn routed by the Franks. Reconciliation between the Shi'as and Sunnis of Baghdad. Return of Manṣūr b Ṣadaqah. Flood and famine in Irāq. Dismissal of Caliph's Wazīr; ministry of Abul Qāsim b Jahīr. Betrothal of Md.'s sister to Mustaẓhir. Ḥillah given to Said b Hamid 'Umari. Suqmān Quṭbī occupies Mayāfariqīn. Murders of Qadis of Isfahān and Nīshāpūr.

503/1109-10 Frankish occupation of Tripoli, Beirut, Jubail and Banayas. Battle between Md. Khān and Sāghirbeg. Expedition against Alamūt. Md.'s arrival at and departure from Baghdad. Dismissal of Caliph's Wazīr; ministry of Ibn Jahīr. Death of Ibrāhīm Yanāl of 'Amid.

- 504/1110-1 Franks occupy Şaida and Athārib. Dismissal of Alīmad b Nizām-al-Mulk; ministry of Khaṭīr. Byzantine Embassy to Sultān. Celebration of Caliph's marriage with Md.'s sister.
- 505/1111-2 Expedition against Franks. Franks besiege Tyre. Death of :Imām Ghazālī.
- 506/1112-3 Maudūd marches to Ruha and Sarūj, encounters Franks. Md. leaves Bagh̄dad for Isfahān. Arrest of Abu Sa'd of Qum. Death of Quraja of Hims.
- 507/1113-4 Defeat of Franks; death of Maudūd. Quarrel between Sanjar and Md. Khān; a compromise reached. Damascus caravan to Egypt looted by Franks. Death of Caliph's Wazīr, Ibn Jahīr; ministry of Rabib Abu Maṣṣur. Death of Ruḍwān; succeeded by his son Alp Arslān, the Dumb; regency of Lulu. Bātinī persecution.
- 508/1114-5 Aqsunqur marches to Syria; submission of Marash to him. Battle between Aqsunqur and Ilghāzī; latter taken captive. Death of 'Ala-al-Daulah of Ghaznah; succession of his son; Sanjar's intervention. Earthquake. Death of Alp Arslān b Ruḍwān, succeeded by his brother, Sultānshāh.

xxxviii CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EVENTS

- 509/1115-6 Franks defeat Sultān's army, occupy Rafaniyah; its recapture. Arrival of Md. at Baghdād; reconciliation with Tughtakīn. Riot at Baghdād; Mawṣil given to Juyūshbeg.
- 510/1116-7 Jāwalī Saqāwa and Jaghrī b. Md. sent to Fars; their deaths. Riot of Tus. Fire of Baghdad.
- 511/1117-8 Death of Sultan Md.; accession of his son Maḥmūd.
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PART I

Institutions of the Saljūqid Empire

CHAPTER I

THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE COURT ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

The circumstances which led to the gradual decline and ultimate downfall of the Saljūqid empire were numerous. The factious relations between the members of the royal family, the unruly behaviour of the princes and the governors of provinces, the policy of ruthless intrigue which characterised the activities of the strong women at the Sultān's court,—all these were important factors in the impending tragedy of the Saljūqs.

Under the Saljūqids, the head of the ruling family alone was given the title of Sultān and the honour of 'five bands' (Panj Naubat), while the vassal Saljūqids were called Maliks (kings) and had the honour of only 'three bands' as we learn from the terms of the treaty between Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad.¹ This fact is further

¹ L. A., 137, 138.

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proved by the text of the treaty between Bahrāmshāh and Sanjar where Sanjar was designated as Malik and Bahrāmshāh as Sultān in accordance with the custom of the latter's ancestors, although Sanjar became the liege-lord of Bahrāmshāh by the provisions of the treaty.¹ So when Ibn-al-Athīr, looking back from a much later period, speaks of this as “a strange thing to hear,” he of course forgets that Muḥammad being the legal Sultān, Sanjar could not possibly arrogate to himself this title merely because he had conquered the kingdom of Ghaznah which had never before been under the Saljūqid sovereignty, even in the palmy days of Malikshāh.² Much confusion can be avoided by keeping this conception constantly in mind while reading the Saljūqid history, as the chroniclers frequently make use of the words Sultān and Malik indiscriminately.³ This lack of discrimination, though excusable as a figurative literary expression or as a matter of courtesy, may easily lead astray the reader who is not careful to guard himself against accepting it as a historical statement.⁴

¹ I. A., 213.

² *Ibid.*, 214.

³ *Ibid.*, 115, 137, 138. I. Q., 168, 127. (Ibn al-Qalanisi.)

⁴ The Saljūqids of Rūm had already in the time of Malikshāh adopted the style of Sultān, at first possibly only as courtesy title, though later on it was held to imply their independence. I. Q., 117, 157, 158, from Fāriqī.

Taking the view that the unity of the State was sufficiently preserved by the nominal headship of the Caliph, the Saljūqid princes regarded the empire entrusted to the Sultān as their ancestral estate, to be divided among themselves in accordance with the law of inheritance after their fathers' demise. This idea is betrayed by the two compromises between Barkiyāruq and Turkān Khātūn; under the first one Barkiyāruq received 500,000 dīnārs on account of the legacy of his father through the intermediary of Amir Bulkābak Unar.¹ Under the second compromise, the condominium of Barkiyāruq over those provinces from which his authority was already excluded was acknowledged by Turkān on behalf of her infant son Maḥmūd.² The statement is further supported by the terms of the treaties between Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad, by which the empire was practically divided between the brothers, only reserving for Barkiyāruq the nominal title of Sultān.³ Furthermore, the lesser Saljūqid princes were sometimes termed amīrs, as can be seen from the genealogical table of the Rabat al-Şudūr.⁴ The word amīr strictly meant the head of the military forces, while the word wāli implied the civil

¹ Rāwandī, 141. According to Yazdi (p. 74) through Abul Ghana'im and Mazd al-Mulk.

² I. Q., 127.

³ I. A., 137.

⁴ Rāwandī, 85.

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administrator of a province. But the offices were often combined in the same person.¹ All the princes of the royal blood had to be provided with some fief (*iqtā'*). That this was regarded as a right can be inferred from the unsuccessful revolts of Arslān Arghūn and Mankubars. The former solicited Khurāsān from Barkiyāruq as his fief² and the latter finding his income insufficient for his needs had no alternative but to revolt and claim the Sultanate in the hope of getting some fief.³ The son of Takash also quarrelled on this point with Sultān Md. and fled to Ruḍwan's son at Aleppo, whence he went to Tancred, Lord of Antioch, and finally to Egypt where he was cordially received and assigned revenues to ensure him a comfortable existence.⁴

The provincial fief-holders were expected to pay a fixed annuity to the central government and to rally round the banner of the Sultān with their own troops fully equipped in times of war.⁵ They, in their turn, sometimes appointed subordinate fief-holders independently of the Sultān, as the custom of tax-farming was rampant in all parts of the empire. As a concrete example, the renting out of Wasit by Sadaqah to Muhadhdhib al-Daulah

¹ *Nizām al-Mulk*, 43. I. Q., 144, 84. 91.

² I. A., 108.

³ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁴ Gibb. 131, 143. I. Q., 183, 189.

⁵ I. A., 176, 192, 142, 127.

of Batihah for 50,000 dinars for about three months only, may be mentioned here. Muhadhdhib on his part again rented it to his descendants and friends who rack-rented the inhabitants.¹ Where the subordinate fief-holders were unable to meet the conditions imposed upon them, the principal fief-holder frequently administered their fiefs directly through a deputy.²

The institution of the *Atābegate* which was peculiar to the Saljūqid system of administration was a necessary corollary to the conception of the empire as a paternal property. Each prince of the blood-royal was placed under the care of a Turkish general. During his infancy the *Atābeg* acted as his regent, and after his father's death his mother married, as a matter of course, the prominent *Atābeg* who in his turn sometimes gave one of his daughters in marriage to his ward. This is clearly exemplified by the relations of Tughtakīn and Duqāq and Janāḥ al-Daulah and Ruḍwān after the death of Tutush.³ Similarly Qumushtakīn Jāndār was appointed *Atābeg* of Barkiyāruq⁴ who at the time of his death appointed Amīr Ayāz *Atābeg* of his infant son Malikshāh,

¹ I. A. 157, 182.

² E.g., Saduqa's cousin Thabit b Kāmil was his deputy at Hit. I. A. 150. Ismail was Qimaj's deputy at Basrah. *Ibid.* 141.

³ I. A., 102.

⁴ *Bundārī* 77, *Yazdī* 73.

who was nominated heir-apparent.¹ This system of the Atābegate had a detrimental effect on the imperial structure as it turned the princes into mere puppets in the hands of the adventurous Amīrs, as was the case of Jaghrī b Sultan Muham-mad and Jāwalī. The latter taught the former, a boy of two, to utter the words ‘arrest him’ in Persiañ and made use of this royal command to capture his political opponent.² On the other hand, sometimes the more virile wards even fell out with their Atābeks and put them to death if such an outrage was possible. Sultān Muham-mad put to death Qutlaḡtakīn, his own Atābeg.³ Janāḥ al-Daulah was assassinated at the instiga-tion of Ruḍwān, his ward, after he had separated from Ruḍwān and occupied Hims on his own account.⁴

The Atābegate system was moreover responsible for the investiture of several Saljūqid slaves with kingships if their wards suffered premature death.⁵ The Atābeks were the real rulers and their wards were so many figureheads. Nay, often an Atābeg deposed one prince and promoted another in order

¹ I. A., 158, I.Q. 131. Duqāq and Tughtakīn, Duqāq’s son, 144.

² I. A., 217, 211. Similar was the case of Mas'ūd b Md. who was placed under the care of Āqsunqur al-Bursuqī.

³ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁴ I. Q., 133, 142.

⁵ Gibb., 25, I.Q., 145.

to safeguard his own interests, as he naturally preferred the weak one over whom he could exercise his absolute authority to the strong one who might be a constant danger to his autocracy. An instance of these political manoeuvres occurred after the death of Malik Duqāq when his Atābeg Tughtakīn made on 12 Ramadān 497/1104 his one-year-old son Tutush Malik. Then he deposed him and proclaimed Bektāsh¹ b Tutush, a boy of twelve, Malik. But later, perhaps finding some opposition in him, he got rid of Bektāsh by ruse and reinstated the infant of Duqāq as Malik.² This kind of diarchy was one of the most potent factors in the political disintegration of the Saljūqid empire, as it gradually substituted for the element of unity supplied by the family ties with the central government a large number of disconnected and often hostile dynasties. Thus, to quote Gibbon's expressive description of a lamentable situation "a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet."³

The Saljūqid Sultāns seem to have carried their treasures with them wherever they happened to go,

¹ According to I. Q. 145, Irtāsh, whose mother was responsible for frightening him regarding the ill intention of Tughtakīn and Safwat al-Mulk. This is also the second version of I. A. The enemies of Tughtakīn also had a share in this affair.

² I. A., 157.

³ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 24.

and the Court also, generally speaking, used to follow them on their journeys. For, the Saljūqids retained from their former nomadic ways a distaste for settled life. This can be illustrated by the fact that Turkān Khātūn seized the entire imperial treasury on the death of Malikshāh to the exclusion of his four sons.¹ Again, on the death of Barkiyāruq at Burugird, on his way to Baghdād from Isfahān, Amīr Ayāz took possession of the imperial paraphernalia and treasure in the name and on behalf of Barkiyāruq's infant son Malikshāh, who succeeded his father under the Atābegate of Ayāz.² This appears to have been the custom of the Amīrs and Wālis as well, although some recorded cases could be found where the treasure was deposited in strong castles and forts for safe custody.³ The latter was more in consonance with the tactics of the Bātimī chiefs, as many of the mountain fortresses of the empire were occupied by them either by force or fraud.⁴

The intervention of women in political disputes is a striking feature of the Saljūqid state. Their

¹ I. A., 87.

² *Ibid.*, 158.

³ *Ibid.*, 89. Sarkhāb b Badr k-p^t his treasures worth 2,000,000 dinārs in the fort of Khaftidhkan, I. A., 144. In the fort of Takrit which belonged to Bani Muqan, a subtribe of the 'Uqailid, there were 500,000 dinārs excluding jewellery. I. A., 175.

⁴ I.A., 181, where a detailed description is given.

political status was almost similar to that of men, as can be shown by the importance attached to matrimonial alliances between the political leaders of the time.¹ Their intrigue and influence, therefore, are of considerable importance in appreciating the decline and subsequent downfall of the Saljūqid empire. Tūrkān Khātūn, the favourite wife of Malikshāh, known as the ‘glorified lady’² was the most prominent female figure in the civil war following the death of Malikshāh. She was powerful in the administration even during the lifetime of Malikshāh.³ She and her steward, Tāj-al-Mulk were responsible for poisoning the mind of Malikshāh against his wazīr, Niẓām-al-Mulk. A few weeks later, on the sudden death of Malikshāh at Baghdād, she kept

¹ E.g., marriages between Tughril and Caliph Qāim’s daughter (I. A., 153), Mahmālik and Caliph Muqtadi (Yazdī, 73), (Rāwandī, 140), Malikshāh’s daughter and Mustazhir (I. A., 204) (I. Q., 173). Hammād and daughter of Muḥadhdhib (I. A., 183), sister of Barkiyāruq and Naṣr, prince of Ghaznah (I. A., 212, 213). Budran b Saḥaqah and daughter of Muḥadhdhib (I. A., 182), Yāghisīyān’s daughter and Ruḍwān (I. Q., 189), daughter of Jakarmish and Ibli b Arslan Tāsh (I. A., 169), King of Samarqand and sister of Malikshāh (I. Q., 120). daughter of Khīr Khān and Ayāz b Ilghāzī (I. A., 212) Ibn Takash and Ilghāzī’s daughter (I. A., 146), Yanāl and Ilghāzī’s sister, widow of Tutush (I. A., 147), Sultān Md. and Isma'il b Yaqūtī’s daughter (I. A., 150).

² Khātūn Jalāliya (I. A., 87).

³ Bundārī, 76.

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the news concealed and took advantage of her Turkish origin in securing through bribery, the allegiance of the army for her infant son Maḥmūd.¹ She was the first person to sow the seed of civil war among the sons of Malikshah by raising her son to the Sultanate without having the slightest regard for the rightful claim of Barkiyāruq, the eldest surviving son, the support of whose claim proved fatal to Nizām-al-Mulk.² Turkān calmly disregarded the legal opinion of Ghazālī, the most prominent jurist of the age.³ She cowed down the unwilling Caliph Muqtadi by the threat of declaring his son Ja‘far by Mah Malik Khātūn, daughter⁴ of Malikshāh, Caliph at Isfahān. The reluctant Caliph negotiated in vain with her to keep the Khuṭbah in his own name. At last he had to give way and on Friday, 22 Shawwāl 485-1092, the Khuṭbah was recited in the name of Maḥmūd, then aged four only, under the high-sounding title of the ‘Helper of the World and Religion.’⁵ She further managed to have the Khuṭbah recited in the name of the infant Maḥmud at the holy cities

¹ I.A., 87, 99, Bun-lārī, 76.

² Yazdī, 71.

³ I.A., 88.

⁴ *Ibid*, 87, 90, 94. But in Rāwandī 140, Yazdī 73 and Tārikh-i-Guzidah 449, it is clearly written as the sister of Malikshāh. Besides, the disparity of age lends support to the Persian historians.

⁵ I.A., 88. Nāṣir al-Dunyā wal-Dīn.

of Mecca and Medina in order to give the investiture full legal sanction.¹

She immediately dispatched *Qiwām-al-Daulah* *Karbūqa* to *Isfahān* to take charge of its fort on the authority of a forged order from the dead *Sultān*.² Then she sent troops to capture *Barkiyāruq* lest he should oppose the Sultanate of her son;³ and she herself also set out for *Isfahān* with the corpse of *Malikshāh* in a litter. *Ibn al-Athīr* justly laments the death of *Malikshāh* in this connection by saying : “ There is no parallel to the case of a *Sultān* like him, over whom nobody prayed and for whom no one mourned.”⁴

She now actively incited *Ismaīl b. Yāqūtī*, the maternal uncle of *Barkiyāruq*, to revolt, by promise of marriage. But her tactics fell through as *Isma‘īl* was defeated in a battle near *Karāj* at the end of 486/1093. *Ismail* retreated to *Isfahān* where he was cordially received by *Turkan* who inserted his name in the *Khutbah* and coins after that of her son.⁵ The proposed marriage was about to take place when the *amīrs*, especially *Unar*, the military and administrative head of the government, vehemently opposed the union. The *amīrs* did not trust him ; he on his part was suspicious of them. The mutual mistrust led *Isma‘īl*

¹ I.A., 88.

³ *Ibid*, 89.

² *Ibid*, 87.

⁴ *Ibid*, 87.

⁵ *Ibid*, 92.

to seek refuge with his sister, Zubaidah Khātūn, mother of Barkiyāruq. The sister readily complied with the request and Isma'īl came over to Barkiyāruq's camp. But the lust of power and position infused in him by the ambitious Turkān did not easily desert him. Being suspected of political intrigue against Barkiyāruq's life, he was put to death by Kumushh, Aqsunqur and Būzān.¹

Turkān was too clever and cunning to despair of her projected plan. Deprived of her long cherished union with Isma'īl, by the interference of overbearing amīrs, she came to terms with Barkiyāruq. Under cover of this false settlement, she was actually engaged in conspiracy and alliance with Tutushh, the formidable enemy of Barkiyāruq. As the first step in her secret plot, she marched with her troops from Isfahān to meet him. But she fell seriously ill on the way and returned to Isfahān, where she died in Ramaḍān 487/1094.² Browne³ and Sykes⁴ state that she was put to death by Barkiyāruq. It appears, however, from a closer study of the sources, that there is no justification for this assumption. Turkān died a natural though sudden, and hence suspicious, death.

¹ I.A., 93.

² I.Q., 127. I.A. 99.

³ Vol. 2, p. 301.

⁴ Vol. 2, p. 40.

Her mercenary troops and bribed amirs fell out amongst themselves. Some of them joined Barkiyāruq, while others went over to Tutush.¹ Thus ended the chequered life of that charming singing girl by whose dazzling beauty and ready wit Malikshah had been captivated.² In fine, her short career as a regent-mother after the death of Malikshah was filled with insatiable ambition and vile political intrigue.

The case of Turkān Khātūn was by no means isolated, and the pages to the chronicle contain many references of the political activities of other women in high stations. Nay, even the non-Saljūqid ladies actively associated themselves with polities, perhaps in imitation of their Turkish comrades. The recorded instance of this kind, of a wife's political intrigue is that of Sultana Tughril, daughter of the late Caliph Qāim. In spite of all her piety and charity she was not free from the common political bias of the Saljūqid Sultanas. Being suspected of the conspiracy against the Caliphate of Mustazhir Billāh, she was confined to her palace, where she died on 6 Muḥarram 496/1101.³

We even find women holding the important office of fief-holders and taking an active part in battlefields. Ṣafia Khātūn, wife of Sharaf-al-Daulah and aunt of Malikshāh, was the heroine of

¹ I.Q., 127.

² Wafāyāt., Eng. Tran., Vol. III, p. 444.

³ I.A., 153.

the Saljūqid race. Malikshāh gave her Balad as fief, but after the death of Malikshāh she occupied Mawṣil also with her son ‘Ali, who was contested by her stepson Muḥammad. After the death of her first husband, Sharaf-al-Daulah, she married his brother Ibrāhīm, to whom she handed over Mawṣil after winning the battle near Kanasa in 486/1093. A few months after, when Tutušh conquered it from Ibrāhīm, he appointed both ‘Ali and his mother ‘jointly as his wālis in Mawṣil after the battle of Muḍayya.’¹

The daughter of Bursuq and wife of Jāwālī Saqāwa was another tyrant who employed all her courage and heroism to terrorise her subjects. When Sultān Muḥammad’s army under Maudūd besieged Mawṣil, Jāwālī went out of the city, leaving his wife as the governor of the citadel with 1,500 Turkish cavalry, besides infantry and others, in Ramadān 501/1108. But owing to her oppression and exaction, the residents mutinied against her and despite all her efforts to retain it, surrendered the citadel to Maudūd. As an administrator she was, no doubt, a failure, but as a diplomat she succeeded after eight days’ negotiations with Maudūd, in obtaining permission to go to her brother Bursuq b Bursuq with all her belongings, under the protection of Maudūd a very rare thing in those rough days,² as we,

¹ I. A., 91.

² *Ibid.*, 193.

frequently find that those who took too prominent a place in political life were given short shrift by their opponents.

We sometimes find women acting as envoys, as was the case of Barkiyāruq's sister who was married to Naṣr, the brother of 'Ala al-Daulah, the Sultān of Ghaznah. 'Ala al-Daulah put his brother to death, prohibited his widow, perhaps owing to her political activities, from leaving Ghaznah, and later married her. When after the death of 'Ala al-Daulah, Sanjar was championing the cause of Bahrāmshāh against his brother Arslānshāh, the latter commissioned her with 200,000 dinars and many presents to Sanjar to secure the surrender of Bahrāmshāh. But she proved a dangerous weapon and actually turned into a spy of Sanjar by revealing to him the weak points of Arslānshāh and exciting him to war. She was so spiteful that she took revenge on the son for the grudge she bore to the father.¹

Another intriguing and ambitious Saljūqid lady was the widow of Tutush, who married Janāḥ al-Daulah, the Atābeg of her son Rudwān.² Mention may be made also of Safwat al-Mulk, mother of Duqāq who married Tughtakīn, the Atābeg of her son, after the death of Tutush, her husband ; she also played a prominent part in the

¹ I. A., 212, 213.

² I. Q., 133. I. A., 102. I. Q., 190. Later she joined Tughtakīn.

political field.¹ The wife of Urtuq combined in her person both diplomacy and military spirit. She freed her grandson Yāqūtī from captivity by her representations to Karbūqā and later, when he was killed by an arrow-shot from the army of Jakarmish, she rallied the Turkmens round her son Suqman to seek revenge for her grandson. But Suqman was bought off by Jakarmish and it was proclaimed by Suqman "that Yāqūtī was killed in the battle and his killer is not identifiable."² Zubaidah Khātūn, mother of Barkiyāruq, also took part in politics. After the conquest of Khurāsān, she took charge of the seven-year-old son of Arslān Arghun and appointed his caretaker.³ She was instrumental in dismissing Muayyid-al-Mulk, the most competent wazir of Barkiyāruq⁴ who, however, took full revenge by strangling her after taking a bond of 5,000 dinars. She was aged forty-two years at the time of her death in 492/1099.⁵

¹ I. A., 103; I. Q., 144. When Duqāq was dying she insisted on his instructions regarding the atabegate of his son Tutush, which was accordingly given to her husband, Zahir al-Din Tughtakin. I. Q., 201. She was the right hand of Tughtakin and the moving spirit of his policy during her life time. Nay, even after her death he acted according to her last instructions.

² I. A., 163.

³ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

The last one of this period was the wife of Sultān Muḥammad, who was alleged to have practised black magic on her husband and thus caused his death. According to *Bundārī* she was arrested and tortured, and some of her maid-servants were put to death. The court incited the Sultān to blind her, which had been the most common punishment for political crimes among the Saljūqids.¹ At the last moment of Muḥammad's life, the courtiers forged an order from him to strangle her. So she was strangled, and *Bundārī* says that it was a strange coincidence that both Muḥammad and his wife died at the same hour at the end of 511/1118, the former on his bed and the latter in her palace, hanged.²

In all these tragic and disastrous events, we find that the armed forces of the empire played an important role. The constitution of these forces helped still more to aggravate the situation and a special study of this subject is therefore necessary for an understanding of the factors of decline in Saljūq power.

¹ I.A., 99.

² *Bundārī*, 108.

CHAPTER II

CONSTITUTION OF THE ARMED FORCES : RELATIONS WITH AMIRS : RELATIONS WITH TURKMEN AND ARAB TRIBES

As regards the constitution of the armed forces of the State, Professor H. A. R. Gibb's scholarly introduction to the Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades leaves little room for improvement on the subject, and it is only necessary here to summarise his sound conclusions.¹ A few new facts are, however, added here to illustrate and strengthen those conclusions still further. The 'askar formed the regular standing army and the *jund* the territorial reserve,² although the annalists often use both words loosely, as we frequently find in the pages of Ibn al-*Athīr*.³ The relations between the local *jund* and the central forces are closely connected with the rights and duties of the provincial fief-holders towards their suzerain—a subject already treated elsewhere.⁴

Again, although it is difficult to show with precision the numerical strength of the 'askar and

¹ Pp. 32, 175.

² I. Q., 130, 132, 134 ; I. A., 201.

³ I. A., 99, 101, 201, 202.

⁴ P. 4, *ante*.

the *jund*, some examples derived from the sources may throw light on the subject. In the battle near Rayy in Ṣafar 488/1095, in which Tutush was killed, Barkiyāruq's 'askar numbered 30,000.¹ The *jund* of Mawṣil were slaughtered while asleep by 200 'askaris of Sultān Muḥammad in Muḥarram 502/1105.² It may be mentioned here that the Turks were an important element in the 'askar³ while the *jund* were a heterogeneous mixture of Turks, Turkomen, Arabs and Kurds.⁴ The Aḥdāth were organised under Ra'is al-Aḥdāth and might be termed as regular volunteers.⁵ We find Majan, the Ra'is al-Aḥdāth of Aleppo in 189/1095 trying to become independent of Malik Ruḍwān by political intrigue and treachery.⁶ Jāwālī Saqāwa deported more than 20,000 Aḥdāth from Mawṣil when it was besieged by the 'askar of Sultān Muḥammad under the command of Maudūd in Ṣafar 502/I108.⁷ On particular occasions, especially in waging a holy war against the enemies of the faith, irregular volunteers (*Mutṭawiah*) were also summoned to arms. There are examples of such summons in the wars with the Franks and

¹ I. A., 101.

² *Ibid.*, 193.

³ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁴ Ghazālī, II, 260.

⁵ I. Q., 135; I. A., 192, 210.

⁶ I. Q., 137; I. A., 105.

⁷ I. A., 201.

with the Ismā‘īlī heretics. This was done in the battle between Jāwalī Saqāwa and Tancred at Tell Bashir in Ṣafar of the same year.¹ The fact is further illustrated by the siege of al-Ruha on 12 Shawwāl 503/1110 by Suqmān al-Quṭbī and Maudūd in which innumerable volunteers took part.² Buzgush's campaign in Khurāsān against the Ismā‘īlīs in 497/1103-4 is another illustration.³

The commander-in-chief of the army bore the title of Amīr al-Juyūsh or more commonly Amīr. He was also occasionally styled Sāhib al-Jaish⁴ and ‘Ārid al-Jaish.⁵ Under him was Qā’id al-Quwwad or colonel who was the head of the Qāids or captains. The Qāids were sometimes described as Muqaddims.⁶ Camp-followers or rabble were called Sūqah or Hawashī.⁷ These are described on one occasion in Bundārī as a crowd of unknown people.⁸

The system of military reconnoitring was practised in warfare,⁹ although civil spying was to some extent discontinued under the pious policy

¹ I. A., 196, 158.

² I. Q., 169.

³ I. A., 158.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁵ Bundārī, 86.

⁶ I. Q., 147. Bundārī 83.

⁷ I. Q., 136.

⁸ P. 76.

⁹ I. A., 145, 219, 157.

Alp Arslān.¹ The military governor of a fort was called 'Duzdār,' a title which frequently occurs in the pages of Ibn-al-A th |ir.² The Jāndār was probably equivalent to the modern head of the body-guard or aide-de-camp.³ The Sipah Sālār is a Persian word meaning the commander of the army.⁴ The Arabicised Persian word Isbabādh⁵ is perhaps a synonym of Sipah Sālār and was originally the official designation of the provincial satraps of the pre-Islamic Persian empire, who also commanded the provincial garrisons.⁶

The system of indiscriminate *iqtā'*⁷ (military fief), was probably the main factor at the root of all the troubles of the Saljūqid empire, as it was greatly responsible for making the relations of the Sultān and amīrs more troubled. The troops were placed in a precarious position of divided allegiance—nominal to the Sultān, real to their respective amīrs. Inexperienced Sultāns, moreover, often lavishly rewarded ambitious amīrs for good

¹ Levy, 208.

² I. A., 131, 179, 211.

³ Bundārī 77; Rāwandī 140; I. A. 93, 116.

⁴ Gibb. 81; I. A., 90, 142, 164, 169, 196.

⁵ Rāwandī, 141; I. Q., 130, Gibb. 154, 156; Yazdī, 77; I. A., 157; Bundārī, 53, 83.

⁶ Sipah-soldier, bed-chief or master as in Mubed the priest; Paul Horn, 44.

⁷ For fuller information regarding the five kinds of *iqtā'* *vide* Māwardi, pp. 181-7; for precautions to be taken against the abuse of *iqtā'* system, *vide* Niżām al-Mulk, 119.

services with the most flourishing provinces as fiefs, unmindful of the results of this generous but bad policy. The amīrs, thus, becoming more powerful, pursued their own factious and warlike interests in order to annex the fiefs of their lesser fellow-fiefholders and not infrequently even contested the authority of the Sultāns themselves. The latter had to combine with other amīrs to control the overbearing aggressors. As soon, however, as the suppression of a revolting amīr was complete, the young Sultāns committed similar blunders by granting the other amīr or amīrs who upheld their cause, the same fiefs, sometimes with additions and without betraying any sign of having learnt their lesson from their previous struggle. Thus, the entire empire was plunged into a series of unending civil war with the weakening of the central control after the death of Malikshah.

Among many others,¹ the ever-changing amīrate of Mawṣil may be taken as a typical example to support the above statements.

¹ E.g., revolts of Arslān Arghūn; (*I.A.*, 108) Amīr Amīrān (*ibid.*, 109); Yāruqtāsh and Qūdan (*ibid.*, 110); battle between Ruḍwān and Duqāq (*ibid.*, 111); Sanjar and Daulatshah (*ibid.*, 115); revolt of Unar (*ibid.*, 116), of Sadaqah (*ibid.*, 127); Isma‘il’s march to Wāsit (*ibid.*, 140); Duqāq’s occupation of Rahbah (*ibid.*, 151); Bahrām’s occupation of ‘Ānah (*ibid.*, 153); occupation of Buṣrā by Tughtakīn (*ibid.*, 170); occupation of Mecca by Isbabadh b Sautakin.

After the death of Malikshah, his aunt Safiyah Khatun occupied Mawṣil with her son ‘Ali b Sharaf-al-Daulah. Later she handed it over to her second husband, Ibrāhīm, after whose defeat and death in the battle of Muḍayya¹ in Rabī‘ I 486/1093 she was appointed the wāli of Mawṣil with her son ‘Ali.¹ In 489/1096, when Karbūqā and his brother Altūntāsh were released by Malik Rudwan under instructions from Sultān Barkiyāruq, there at once gathered round them an ‘askar of rogues and they occupied Harrān. Muḥammad, the stepbrother of Amīr ‘Ali and his vanquished foe, was at this time at Naṣībīn with Sarwān b Wahaib and Abū'l Haija al-Kurdī. He sought the help of Karbūqā against ‘Ali. The request being granted, Md. met him near Naṣībīn, but the ambitious Karbūqā arrested him treacherously and also occupied Naṣībīn after forty days' siege. Then he marched to Mawṣil and Amīr ‘Ali asked for the help of Jakarmish, Amīr of Jazīrah. The latter's help was intercepted by Altūntāsh, and in a pitched battle Jakarmish was defeated and forced to return to his province and to help Karbūqā in besieging Mawṣil. After nine months' siege, Amīr ‘Ali was compelled to take refuge with Amir Sadaqah of Hillah and Karbūqā occupied Mawṣil. Altūntāsh was put to death for extracting money from the inhabitants and

¹ I.A., 91.

disobeying Karbūqā on the third day after the fall of Mawṣil.¹ Karbūqā administered it well for about nine years.

In 494/1100-1 he was sent by Barkiyāruq to Adharbajān to suppress a rebellion, and he fulfilled his mission successfully. On his way home he died near Khūy in Dhū'l Qa'dah 495/1102, after appointing his lieutenant Sunqurja his successor and taking an oath of allegiance from his Turkish troops to that effect. Then Sunqurja occupied Mawṣil but the prominent inhabitants wrote to Mūsā,² the Turkmen deputy of Karbūqā at Ḥiṣn Kaifa offering to surrender the city to him. Sunqurja thought that Mūsā was coming to pay his respects to him, so he went out to welcome him with the inhabitants of the city.

¹ I.A., 106.

² During this period of internal troubles the inhabitants of towns played a very important part, e.g., those of Aleppo resisted the army of the Sultān and declared rebellion in 509/1115. I.A., 214. The inhabitants of Nishāpūr gave battle to the Khurāssānian Amir who besieged it for about forty days in Dhū'l Hijjah 488/1095 and in despair had to withdraw in Muḥarram 489/1095. The inhabitants of Shahraban resisted the tyrant Yanāl in 496/1104. In the battle many inhabitants lost their lives, but Yanal had to retire to Azarbajān. I. A., 148. The inhabitants of Baghdād attacked Īlghāzī, Suqmān and Dubais b Sadaqah, while they encamped at Ramlah in 496/1104. In the pitched battle four of them were killed and a group of them were taken captive ; but they were released after

On first meeting they dismounted from their horses, embraced each other and wept over the death of Karbūqa. While they were walking together Sunqurja said to Mūsā : “ Whatever is left by our late master is at your disposal.” But Mūsā said, “ Who are we that we should have such rank, the command belongs to the Sultān ; he will prefer whomsoever he wishes and he will appoint whomsoever he pleases.” During this altercation Sunqurja drew his sword and struck with the flat of it the head of Mūsā. In the course of a hand-to-hand fight Sunqurja was killed by Mañṣūr b Marwān and Mūsā became the Amīr of Mawṣil.¹ When this news reached Jakarmish, the Amīr of Jazīrah, he immediately marched on Nasībin and occupied it. Mūsā, on the other hand marched to Jazīrah, but when he drew near Jakarmish his troops treacherously changed sides ; so he hurried back to Mawṣil and Jakarmish followed him and besieged Mawṣil for a long time. In the meantime Mūsā sought the help of Suqmān b Urtuq, who was at that time in Diyār Bakr, by offering him Ḥiṣn Kaifa and 10,000 dīnārs. So

being disarmed. I.A., 148. In Dhulhijjah 495/1102 the inhabitants of Isfahān kept at bay 100,000 rioters and robbers after the secret departure of Md. I.A., 139. In Jumada 499/1106 Sadaqah had a hard fight with the inhabitants of Baṣrah, in which he lost his cousin Abu Najm. I.A., 168.

¹ *Ibid*, 142.

he marched to him and Jakarmish withdrew. Mūsā came out to receive Suqmān and was murdered by the slaves of Karbūqā near the village of Karathā. Suqmān went back to Hisn Kaifa and occupied it, and it remained under his sons till 620 A.H. Now Jakarmish again besieged Mawṣil and occupied it by capitulation after a few days' siege. Thus, he became “the master of the Arabs and the Kurds.”¹

Under the terms of the treaty between Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad, Mawṣil was given to the latter, but Jakarmish was reluctant to recognise this settlement. So Muḥammad besieged Mawṣil and said to Jakarmish, “If you obey, I shall not take it away from you, rather shall I confirm it under you and the Khutbah will be in my name.” Jakarmish said, “Letters from Barkiyāruq have come to me after the treaty ordering me not to hand over the city to any one except him.” But both parties being persistent in their claims, the battle continued till 10 Jamuda I 498/1105, when the news of the death of Barkiyāruq reached Jakarmish.²

After consulting the inhabitants, he took the oath of allegiance to Md. who honoured him and embraced him. Then he requested the Sultān to enter into the city in state. That being refused, he prepared a great feast outside Mawṣil and carried

¹ I.A., 143.

² *Ibid.*, 159.

to the Sultān and his ministers many valuable presents and gifts.¹ Then the Sultān marched to Baghdād with him to capture the Sultanate from Malikshah b Barkiyāruq. Afterwards Jakarmish came back to Mawṣil, but he did not fulfil his duties as a wāli in paying the annuity and rendering military service. So Muḥammad gave Mawsil, Diyār Bakr and Jazīrah as fief to Jāwālī Saqāwā, the tyrant of the places between Khuzistān and Fārs who submitted to the Sultān with great reluctance in Muḥarram 500/1106.² Jāwālī first went to Baghdād and stayed there till the beginning of Rabi‘ I, then marched to Mawṣil *via* Bawazij, which he occupied and sacked for four days, despite the guarantee of security given to the inhabitants. Then he proceeded to Irbil where he encountered Jakarmish, but Jakarmish was defeated and taken captive. The inhabitants of Mawṣil, however, immediately proclaimed Zankī b Jakarmish their amīr and had the *Khuṭbah* recited in his name.³ Qizughli, the slave governor of the fort was the ringleader of this plan; he further invoked the help of Ṣadaqah, Qilij Arslān and Bursuqī, Shihnah of Baghdaḍ, offering to each one of them to surrender the city to him.⁴ Ṣadaqah did not respond at all. The

¹ I.A., 159.

² *Ibid.*, 176.

³ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 178.

succour of Qilij Arslān and Bursuqī was rather tardy. Meanwhile, Jāwalī besieged Mawṣil, but when he heard of the arrival of Qilij Arslān at Naṣībīn he left Mawṣil for Sanjar. After the departure of Jāwali, Bursuqī also reached Mawṣil, but the inhabitants gave him a very cold reception, so he had to return on the very day of his arrival. Qilij Arslān, while at Naṣībīn, swore to safeguard the interests of the inhabitants of Mawṣil, and they on their part took an oath of allegiance to him. So he proceeded to Mawṣil and encamped outside the gate, on the 25th Rajab, 500/1106, at Marufah, where the son of Jakarmish and the chiefs of the city came to welcome him. He presented them with robes of honour, sat on the throne and inserted his own name in the Khuṭbah instead of that of Sultān Md.¹ He took over the fort from Qizughli and appointed his own governor over it. He confirmed Qādi Abu Md ‘Abdulla in his post and made Abū'l Barakat his wāli over Mawṣil. Then he marched against Jāwalī, leaving his eleven-year-old son Malikshāh with Amīr Aydbarah and a detachment of troops at Mawṣil. In a battle on the banks of the Khābūr, (L) 20 Dhū'l Qa'dah 500/1107, Qilij was defeated and he drowned himself in the river for fear of ignominy.²

After his victory Jāwalī marched to Mawṣil and the inhabitants opened the gate to him. He,

¹ I.A., 178.

² *Ibid.*, 180.

however, encamped outside the city and arrested the devoted followers of the late Jakarmish, who had joined Qilij Arslān and fined them. He restored the Khuṭbah in the name of Sultān Md. at Mawṣil. Thence he marched to Jazirah and besieged there Habashi b Jakarmish and Qizughli for some time when they came to terms with him on payment of 6,000 dinars and much clothing and many beasts of burden.¹ Now he returned to Mawṣil and sent Malikshah b Qilij Arslān to Sultān Md. with whom he remained until his escape from the camp at the beginning of the year 503/1109.²

Jāwalī, however did not learn his lesson even from his own actions, when he himself had taken Mawṣil from Jakarmish about a year before as a penalty for wavering allegiance. So he sided secretly with Ṣadaqah in his campaign against Sultān Md. and refrained from joining the Sultān in spite of repeated requests on the part of his liege-lord. Hence, soon after the suppression of Ṣadaqah, the Sultān sent almost all the amīrs³ to capture Mawṣil from Jāwalī and this having been done Maudūd became the wāli of Mawṣil in Ṣafar

¹ I.A., 180.

² Gibb. 81. I.Q., 158.

³ Among them were Amīrs of Banū Bursuq, Sukmān al-Quṭbī, Maudūd b Tuntakīn, Āqsunpur al-Barsuqi, Naṣr b Mulhalhal b Abi-al-Shawk al-kurdī, and Abul Haija, wāli of Irbil. I.A., 192.

502/1108.¹ He remained wāli of Mawṣil till his murder in the cathedral mosque of Daunascus on the last Friday of Rabi‘ I 507/H113.² After him Āqsunqur Bursuqī was appointed the wāli of Mawṣil, with whom Mas‘ūd b Sultān Md. was deputed as his ward in 508/1111.³ After the defeat of Āqsunqur by Ḥlghāzī, Sultān Md. gave Mawṣil and its dependencies as fief to Amīr Juyūishbeg and sent his son, Malik Mas‘ūd to him in 509/1115-6. Bursuqī stayed in his fief Rahbah till the death of Sultān Md.

To add to the misfortune of the dynasty there were many turbulent Turkmen and free ‘Arab tribes under their local leaders who fanned the flame of jealousy in the hope of collecting booty from the *debris* of vanquished armies and provinces.⁴ Their relations with the central or provincial governments were very nebulous and they were always ready to join any adventurer who sought to acquire an amirate or even the sultanate. So we find that when after the death of Tutush,

¹ I.A., 193.

² *Ibid.*, 209; Gibb. 139, Rabi‘ II, I.Q., 187.

³ I.A., 211.

⁴ E.g., Banu Munqidh at Shaizar, ‘Uqailids and Bani Kilāb. Gibb. 17, 18. I.A., 199; I.Q., 190-191. Banu Kisarit of Mawṣil. I.A., 177. ‘Uqailid enmity against Sadaqah. I.A., 149. In Jumada I 495/1102 Banu Numair killed Muayyid b Sharaf al-Daulah Muslim b Quraish, the Amir of Banu ‘Uqail near Hit in revenge. I.A., 146.

his son Ruḍwan's Atābeg, Janāḥ-al-Daulah tried to recover Aleppo from its former wāli, Abul Qāsim Hasan b 'Ali of Khwārazm, he asked for the favour of the Magharib troops who formed the majority of the army. Accordingly at the dead of night they shouted the slogan of Ruḍwān and captured Abul Qāsim.¹ These unstable and troublesome elements were equally dangerous in those turbulent times, both to their enemies and allies, as they felt little scruple in changing sides at the most critical moment. Again, when Mankubars claimed the sultanate against Muḥammad, he sought the help of Banū Bursuq. Sultān Muḥammad, knowing this, prudently arrested Zankī b Bursuq, who wrote to his brothers warning them against giving allegiance to Mankubars and to arrange his arrest. Accordingly, they wrote to Mankubars offering their false allegiance. So he proceeded to join them but they arrested him at Khuzistān and presented him to Sultān Md. at Isfahān, where he was imprisoned with the sons of Takash. Zankī was released and restored to his dignity, and his brothers were lavishly patronised by Sultān Md.²

The intermittent warfare between the 'Abādites and the Khafājites is another testimony to the tribal jealousy. The iron hand of Ṣadaqah was

¹ I.A., 101. I.Q., 122, Bani Kilab rallied round Tutush ; activities of Bani Uqail, Bani Kāmil I.Q., 122-124.

² *Ibid.*, 166.

not sufficient to keep them under proper control. They sometimes even ravished his own territory so he had no alternative but to pursue the policy of 'divide and rule.' During this period the Khafājites appear on the scene first in 485/1092 as the armed robber gang, to harass the pilgrims and plunder Kūfah. They massacred most of the 'jund' stationed there and even stole the clothes of men and women whom they came across. The inhabitants defended themselves with their bows and they left the town after vigorously looting it. When this news reached Baghdād the 'askar' were sent forthwith to suppress them. After an encounter they were defeated and their position became weak.¹

In 499/1105-6 heavy fighting took place between the Khafājites and the rival tribe of 'Abādites, as a group of the former captured two she-camels from a member of the latter. The demand to return the camels being rejected, the man looted eleven of the Khafājite camels, whereupon they followed him, killed one of his followers and cut off the hand of another. After some abortive negotiations a battle was fought near Kūfa and the 'Abadites were defeated, as Sadaqah secretly helped the Khafājites.²

In the following year the victorious Khafājites began to raid the territory of Sadaquah. He

¹ I.A. 89, 90.

² *Ibid.*, 167.

accordingly sent his son Budrān with an army to the frontier adjoining Baṭīḥah to protect his subjects from the Khafājite depredations. But they paid little heed to the expedition under Budrān. The latter wrote to his father informing him of the real position he was in. So Ṣadaqah summoned the ‘Abadites and made them the vanguard of his army. The battle was fought in Rabi‘ I, and the Khafājites were defeated and ruthlessly persecuted.¹

Another striking instance of the tribal activities is the sack of Baṣrah by Rabī‘ah, Muntaqiq and other neighbouring ‘Arab tribes in 499/1105-6. Tuntāsh, the deputy of Ṣadaqah, opposed them with only 120 horsemen. But his party was defeated and he himself was taken captive. The ‘Arab tribes entered into the city at the end of Dhu'l Qa'dah, burnt down the markets and other fine buildings and plundered whatever they could lay hands upon. For thirty-two days complete anarchy prevailed and arson and loot had free play. The inhabitants fled into the country in panic. The famous library, dedicated by Qādi Abul Faraj b Abul Baqā, was also pillaged. Ṣadaqah’s tardy help came when the ‘Arabs had left the city. Sultān Md. consequently took it away from him and appointed his own Shihnah and ‘amīd, whereupon the inhabitants returned and began to rebuild it.²

¹ I. A., 176.

² *Ibid.* 172. In Safar 495/1101 the tribe of Rabi‘ah killed their Qādi at Hit. *Ibid.* 146. They opened the gate of Hit to Ṣadaqah in 496. *Ibid.* 149.

We further find Ṣadaqah in his last battle with Sultān Md. in 501/1107-8, in which he was killed, exciting the Arabs by rousing their tribal pride and shouting to them : “ O tribe of Khazimah ! O tribe of Naṣirah ! O tribe of ‘Auf ! ” because the ‘Abādites and the Khafājites, having learnt their lessons from their past experiences, did not support him actively in this decisive battle.¹

Nomadic tribes such as the Salghar and the Shawānkāra were a continual source of conflict with the neighbouring amīrs, who hoped to impose their jurisdictional power over them. Their frequent seasonal movements from one place to another made many amīrs claim power over them, and ultimately those amīrs took to fighting with one another in defence of what they regarded as their own right. As a glaring example, we find under the year 495/1101-2 that Al-Qarabli of the Turkmen tribe of Salghar came to the province of Sarkhāb, b Badr. But the latter prevented him from entering the pasturing grounds and killed some of his followers. Then Al-Qarabli went back to his tribe and raised a huge army, with which he killed about 2,000 of the Kurd followers of Badr. Badr, being defeated, retired to some mountain with only twenty followers.² Another instance is that of the Shawānkāra, when they took shelter with the King of Kirmān in 510/1116-7 ; and

¹. I. A., 188.

² . *Ibid*, 144,

Jāwalī on behalf of Sultān Md. demanded their return as they were the Sultān's subjects. He sent Qāḍī Abū Tāhir of Shīrāz with his ultimatum, and fought an unsuccessful battle on this pretext with the King of Kirmān.¹

In 502/1108 we find Banū Numair led by their Shaikh Jūshan occupying Raqqah by killing its wāli, 'Ali, whose father, Sālim, amīr of Ja'bar, was compelled to seek the help of the fugitive Jāwalī. Sālim further requisitioned the aid of his liege-lord Rudwān, but Banū Numair were clever enough to meet the situation by buying peace from both of them by appropriate means.²

¹ I.A., 219.

² *Ibid.*, 195.

CHAPTER III

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION : RELATIONS WITH THE CALIPHATE

The administrative system of the Saljūqs was closely connected with that of the Wazirate. When the occupant of that ministerial dignity was a strong man, the system seems to have worked to the benefit of the reigning Sultān and his empire, but when an impotent and unworthy person succeeded to that post, the whole framework of administration betrayed signs of disorder. This was due to the importance of the function and place of Wazirs in the system under review.

This becomes quite evident when we examine the situation before and after the death of Nizām al-Mulk. During his life-time his beneficial influence kept the organs of the state in harmony. After his death and on the accession of unworthy officials to the Wazirate, they lost their administrative independence and had to act according to the will of the strong military authorities who cared for little more than their own individual interests. To make matters worse, frequent change of Wazirs became the order of the day, and continuity of policy could not, therefore, be sustained. The Saljūqids were originally pastoral tribes of the

steppe, and they therefore could not understand the proper functions of the elaborate bureaucratic system which the highly cultured 'Abbasid rulers had developed in past centuries, as we can see from the pages of *Aḥkām al-Sultāniyah* of Māwardī and the *Siyāsatnamah* of Nizām al-Mulk. • But as long as they were fortunate enough to have able Wazīrs, such as Nizām al-Mulk who was the product of a preceding civilization, they were able to manage their affairs and control their extensive empire with the aid of organized and valiant military forces. This was the case in the reign of Malik-shah, after whose death the elements of insubordination were let loose.

Turning to matters of detail, we find that the Saljūqids abolished the Barīd system (postal department) and many other intricate political institutions which they could not understand for lack of training in these traditions.¹ These institutions were, however, essential for speedy communication and to keep the central government informed as to the course of events in the far-flung provinces. Thus the machinery of administration was paralysed by that unwise measure and the provincial amīrs were given ample opportunity for intrigue and self-aggrandisement.

¹ Samarqandi, 23. A system of combined espionage and express posts. Levy, 208.

As a concrete example we may refer to the siege of Mawṣil by Muḥammad in 498/1105. If the news of the death of Barkiyāruq, which took place on 12 Rabi‘ II at Burūjird, were quickly conveyed to Mawṣil, the subsequent loss of life and property in the battles with Jakarmish could have easily been avoided. Unfortunately the news reached Mawṣil after about a month on 10 Jumada I when Jakarmish immediately convened a conference of the inhabitants and asked their advice as to the policy to be followed after the death of Barkiyāruq. They said, “Our property and lives are at your disposal and you are the better judge; you may nevertheless consult the warriors who are also better acquainted with the situation.”¹ So Jakarmish summoned his amirs and sought their opinion. They said, “While the Sultān was alive we refused him (Md) and none could enter into our city, but when he is dead there is no Sultān for the people but him (Md) and it is better to take the oath of allegiance to him.”² Accordingly, Jakarmish invited Sa‘d al-Mulk, the wazīr of Md., and an armistice was arranged.

Again, if we believe Ibn Khaldūn,³ the frequent changes of capital had also a cumulative evil effect, culminating in the collapse of the central govern-

¹ I. A., 160.

² *Ibid.*, 160.

³ *Muqaddimah*, 328.

ment. Although there were ~~no changes in this~~^{no changes} period, Baghdād had been the metropolis of Islam for many centuries since its construction by Caliph Mansur.¹ But with the rise of the Saljūqids, the administrative headquarters of the Sultānate as distinct from the Caliphate, had been changing with each Sultān. Tughril's capital was Nīshāpūr, while Alp Arslān ruled at Merv.² Malikshah had his headquarters at Isfahān, which was retained by Maḥmūd, Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad after whose death Sanjar again transferred the capital to Khurāsān.³

Instability of the ministry and incompetence of the individual Wazīrs⁴ were responsible to a great extent for the loosening of the central control. The successive Wazīrs were worthless persons and so were either dismissed or disgraced, nay, even handed over to their political opponents at the whim of the untrained and uneducated Sultāns

¹ Yāqūt, I, 679.

² Qazwīnī, Nuzhat, 156, Kinneir, 179.

³ Yāqūt, IV, 509.

⁴ Wazīrs like Niẓām al-Mulk were actual rulers of the state possessing all the authority of the modern British Prime Minister, while, on the other hand, Wazīrs like Khatīr al-Mulk were impotent and had to abide by the resolutions of other ministers, even more than a modern French Premier. The first kind is technically termed Wazīr al-Tafwidh—the delegated Wazīr, and the second, Wazīr al-Tanfidh—the executive Wazīr by Māwardī, P. 21, *et seq.*

who ascended the imperial throne in their early youth or even infancy and died before attaining maturity.

The careers of the successive Wazirs after Nizām-al-Mulk will fully illustrate the chaotic conditions of the empire during this period. With the murder of Nizām-al-Mulk the ministry was completely reconstructed, for the worse, as has been versified by Abul Ma‘ali Nahhās; Tāj al-Mulk took the place of Nizām-al-Mulk while Sharaf-al-Mulk Abu Said, and Kamāl al-Daulah Abū Riḍā were substituted by Majd al-Mulk Abul Faḍl Qummi and Sadīd-al-Daulah Abul Ma‘āli respectively. Tāj al-Mulk¹ held office from Ramadān 485 till Muḥarram 486 under his protégé Maḥmūd, when after the defeat at Burūjird he was captured and presented before Barkiyāruq who, aware of his excellent parts intended to make him his Wazīr. Tāj-al-Mulk on his part tried to reconcile the Nizāmites, but they were irreconcilable. At the instigation of ‘Uthmān, he was assassinated in

¹ Tāj-al-Mulk Abul Ghanā’im was a descendant of the Persian wazir. He was in the service of Sarhank Sautakin, who was an influential Amīr of the Saljūqid empire. On the recommendation of Sautakin, Malikshah appointed him as household steward and put him in charge of the Dīwāns of Tughrā and Inshā. Subsequently he poisoned the mind of Malikshah against Nizām-al-Mulk. At this time Majd al-Mulk was the Mustaufi and Abu Riḍā was the ‘Arid of the jund; both of them joined Tāj-al-Mulk in his intrigue against the old Nizām-al-Mulk. So on the final fall of

Muḥarram 486. The limbs of his body were separated and one of his fingers was sent to Baghdād.¹

Then ‘Izz-al-Mulk b Nizām al-Mulk became the wazīr of Barkiyāruq. He was, however, succeeded after his death at Mawṣil by his brother Mu’ayyid al-Mulk in Dhu’l Ḥijjah 487/1094. ‘Izz al-Mulk was worthless and addicted to drinking. Mu’ayyid was the only redeeming character of this series of Wazīrs after his father. His full name was Abū Bakr ‘Ubaidallāh. He was equally gifted in both the arts of sword and of the pen.² He was probably the most talented man of his time and the ablest of the sons of the famous Nizām-al-Mulk. He tried to put the

Nizām-al-Mulk when Tāj-al-Mulk became the chief Wazīr, his lieutenants were included in the cabinet and were given important portfolios. Bundārī, 58-59, p. 136.

Rāwandī is wrong in putting al-Ārid after Abū Ridā. He thus confuses the partisan of Tāj-al-Mulk with that of Nizām-al-Mulk, as is quite clear from Bundārī. In order to avoid further confusion their names are given in full with their respective designations. Kamāl al-Daulah Abu Ridā Faḍl Allāh b Md and Sharaf al-Mulk Abu Sa’d Md b Manṣūr b Md were in charge of Diwāns of Inshā and Ṭughrā and Zimām and Istifa respectively in the ministry of Nizām-al-Mulk ; they were superseded by Sadid-al-Mulk Abul Ma’ali and al-Mafdal b ‘Abd al-Rizzaq b Umar al-Ārid and Majd-al-Mulk Abul Fadl Qummi. Bundari, 56.

¹ I.A., 89.

² Bundārī, 78.

empire on a sound basis and to restore order in the midst of chaos. On his appointment he issued an appeal to the amīrs of ‘Irāq and Khurāsan and they readily responded to his call. The imperial army and finance increased and Barkiyāruq's position became firm. But Mu'ayyid was dismissed and imprisoned¹ within less than a year through the intrigue of Majd-al-Mulk Balāsānī,² his colleague, Zubaidah Khātūn, the Sultān's mother and Fakhr-al-Mulk, his brother. The Wazīr was, of course, imprudent in incurring the Sultān's displeasure by advising him to desert his mother Zubaidah, on account of her loose character, thus affording his jealous colleague Balāsānī and his discontented brother Fakhr, who was deprived of his late father's jewellery, an opportunity of revenge and retaliation. Bribery and corruption played their part and the young Sultān not only lost the services of his efficient Wazīr, but also created a formidable enemy of him. Fakhr-al-Mulk thus secured the Wazirate for himself, but he was a puppet in the hands of the ambitious Majd-al-Mulk.³

¹ *Bundārī*, 80.

² After the battle of Dashlū, Balāsānī hastened from Rayy to Isfahān and courted the favour of Zubaidah Khātūn, which was easily won. He then arrested Ustād 'Ali, the Mustaufī, and blinded him. *Bundārī*, 79.

³ *Ibid.*, 79.

The death of Majd-al-Mulk will fully illustrate the administrative weakness of the Saljūqid system during this period. When the murder of the great Amīrs by the Bātinīs became frequent, they gave out that he had set them to do the same. This tense feeling was further intensified by the assassination of Bursūq in 492/1098-9. The sons of Bursūq, Ilghāzī, Aqburi and others accused him of this assassination and they consequently deserted the Sultān. Barkiyāruq had to proceed to Zanjān on account of the march of Md. against him. At this critical juncture, the amīrs took the opportunity and sent the Amīr Ākhur, Bulkabak and Tughayāruq b Yazan to the sons of Bursuq, inviting them to join with them in demanding the surrender of Majd-al-Mulk from the Sultān. Accordingly, the sons of Bursuq came and wrote to the Sultān to that effect from Sabjas, a town near Hamadān, and the entire army sided with them. But Barkiyāruq refused to surrender his Wazīr, whereupon Majd-al-Mulk wrote to him to conciliate the Amīrs by putting him to death himself, because if the mob were to kill him, as they actually did, the prestige of the Sultan's government would be lowered, in addition, in the eyes of the people. His head was sent to Mu'āyyid al-Mulk. Even after the murder of Majd al-Mulk the Amirs betrayed Barkiyāruq; the 'askar robbed him of his property and that of his mother and followers, and went over to Md. So he

had to return to Rayy with only two hundred horsemen.¹

Majd al-Mulk was succeeded by 'Abdal-Jalīl Dihistānī, who was wazīr from Ṣafar 493 till Ṣafar 495. He also was incompetent and tyrannical in the version of Bundārī. This was apparently due to the personal jealousy of Khālid Anūshirwān, who was naturally vindictive to his political opponents, as is evidenced by his bitter satires hurled at them throughout the pages of his book. But he found an excellent apologist in Ibn al-Athīr,² who certifies that he was a generous and good man ; and the people did not like him simply because of the fact that he accepted the wazirate at a time when there was no constitutional government. The treasury of the Sultan being empty, he had to take recourse to questionable means which made him unpopular. He exacted 50,000 dīnārs from the Caliph, 30,000 dīnārs from Ibn Sulaiḥāh, Qādi of Jabalah, the fugitive refugee at Baghdad,³ and also extorted money from the inhabitants of Baghdād.⁴ While Barkidārūq was leaving Baghdād at the approach of Md. and Sanjar in Dhul Hijjah 494/1101, his followers plundered the villages *en route*. This, perhaps, aroused

¹ I. A., 120.

² P. 139.

³ I. A., 129.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

public feeling against the Wazir.¹ Dihistānī was, however, specially favourable to the merchant class. Ibn-al-A thīr | narrates a long story of his trading integrity.² He was assassinated at the gate of Hamadān by a Bāṭinī on 12 Ṣafar 495/1101.³

Khatīr Abū Mansūr Maibudhī, the traitor Wazīr of Md., was unexpectedly raised to the position of a Wazīr. He betrayed his own master at the siege of Isfahān where he was put in charge of a gate which he left in the dark of night, in accordance with a previous promise given to Barkiyāruq while he was at Rayy. Yanāl b Anūshtakīn, an amīr of Barkiyāruq's party, reminded him of his words which had induced them to come to Rayy from Isfahān and to undertake all the trouble of besieging a fortified city.⁴ He even deceived his new ally, Barkiyāruq, by fleeing to Maibudh and taking shelter there in his castle which was besieged by the army of Barkiyāruq. He was forced to surrender and solicit quarter. While he was being carried to the main army on a mule with pack-saddle, he received the

¹ I.A., 128.

² P. 139.

³ I. A., 139. It is also narrated that he was murdered by a red-haired youth in revenge for his master, Abu Sa'īd, the blacksmith whom the Wazīr put to death in the preceding year.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 140.

letter of the Sultān granting him safety and the news of the murder of Dihistanī. On his arrival at the Sultān's camp, Barkiyāruq presented him with a robe of honour and made him Wazīr. He also was worthless and Bundārī quotes a satirical verse on him which runs as follows :—“A Wazīr sunk in fat and flesh, having no intelligence and understanding ; if he wears white he is like unto cotton and if he wears black he looks like a black hillock.”¹ He further laments the lack of selective power in the Sultān regarding his Wazīrs, while he was careful in selecting even his hunting dogs.²

Two other Wazīrs, Sa‘d-ad-Mulk³ and Alīmad b Nizām-al-Mulk were also incompetent. The former was put to death on account of his Bātinī

¹ P. 95.

² P. 94.

³ Khālid Anūshirwān gives an entirely different story about Sa‘d-al-Mulk. According to him Sa‘d was a competent wazīr and so long as he was wazīr he performed his duties with full credit. He was a bitter enemy of the Bātinīs. He arranged the attack of the fort of Shahdiz (Royal fort) which was situated on a hillock in Isfahān and was the headquarters of the Bātinī rebel chief, Ibn ‘Attāsh. He also conquered the fort of Khānlanjān, near Isfahān. But ‘Abdu’llah al Khaṭībī, the ‘raīs’ of Isfahān, maligned him to the Sultān, alleging that he was a Bātinī, although in all other respects he was good and sincere. So Sultān Md. arrested him and through the importunity and tactics of al Khaṭībī he was imprisoned and later on crucified with

heresy, together with the four of his chief supporters ; his property was confiscated and his body was impaled on the gate of Isfahān ;¹ the latter was selected simply because of the reputation of his father. Khaṭīr al-Mulk was also again associated with him in the working of the wāzirate. But their dual control proved a failure and Khālid Anūshirwān was asked to officiate for them when Khātīr was arrested and imprisoned.² Then the nobles and Amirs advised the Sultān to import a competent Wazīr from the house of the Caliph : accordingly Rabīb al-Daulah was summoned from Baghdād to Isfahān and appointed Wazīr.³

some of the chiefs of the Secretariat. Anūshirwān further says that when Sa'd became aware of the intrigue of al Khaṭībī he also tried to counteract it by producing some letters that were exchanged between al Khaṭībī and Ibn 'Attāsh in the beginning of the latter's activities. So he sent a man to Ibn 'Attāsh with a letter and some presents to have those letters, but his letter was intercepted by the guard of the fort and handed over to the Sultān, who produced it as an evidence against Sa'd. Khālid Anūshirwān had a close personal contact with Sa'd, as he says in the beginning of this version ; so his account is probably to be preferred to anyone else's. Bundārī, 83-85.

¹ I. A., 183.

² *Ibid.* 183-184. Bundārī, 88.

³ Bundārī, 99-100, 106.

⁴ *Ibid.* 106. According to I. A., Ahmad was dismissed in 504/1109-10 and Khaṭīr succeeded him.

In other fields of civil administration too, we find similar inefficiency and instability owing to the civil war between the rival political factions. The situation is well illustrated by the frequent changes of the holders of the office of Shihnah,¹ the military governor who was mainly responsible for the preservation of law and order in the chief cities of the empire. We may mention, for example, the instance of the Shihnahs of Baghdād during this period. At the time of the death of Malikshah, Sa'd al-Daulah Kuharain was the Shihnah of Baghdād, but Barkiyāruq soon dismissed him in 486/1093 and confiscated his fiefs on account of his treason in assisting the rebel Tutush. Yalbard succeeded him, both in the Shihnahship of Baghdād and in his fiefs.² Again, in Rajab 487/1094 we find Aytakīn Jāb, the Shihnah of Tutush establishing jurisdiction by driving out Yalbard, who was, however, put to death by Barkiyāruq himself in the very year of his appointment after his return from Daqūqa, for slandering the mother of the Sultān.³ In Ṣafar 488/1095, Yūsuf b Abiq, the Turkoman, was sent as Shihnah by Tutush with a

¹ Under him was the 'naqib' who was the actual administrator of the department corresponding to the present permanent secretaries of state or administrative heads. I. A., 99; Mārwardi, 93.

² I. A., 92. He was appointed by Alp Arslān. *Ibid.*, 122.

³ *Ibid.*, 93.

horde of Turkmen, but he was refused admittance into the city. On the arrival of Șadaqah from Hillah he retired to Tariq Khurāsān and plundered Bājsarā. Then again on the return of Șadaqah to Hillah, he came back to Baghdād and intended to plunder and massacre the inhabitants in reprisal, but one of his Amīrs dissuaded him.¹ In the meantime, the news of the defeat and death of Tutush reached him, so he at once left Baghdād and came to Mawṣil and thence to Aleppo, where he was killed in Muḥarram 489/1095 by Majan, the Ra'is al-Āḥdāth (leader of the youth).² Then Ilghāzī was appointed Khilnah by Sultān Md.; during his term of office, Kumashṭakīn Qaiṣarī was sent by Barkiyāruq as Shihnah in Rabi' I 496/1102, but he had to vacate Baghdād on 12 Rabi II of the same year, at the intervention of Șadaqah and the Caliph.³ After the treaty between Barkiyāruq and Md., Ilghāzī transferred his allegiance to Barkiyāruq, for which he was abused by Șadaqah.⁴ Perhaps as a consequence of this wavering allegiance, in Sha'bān 498/1105 Sultān Md. appointed Qasīm al-Daulah Aqsunqur Bursuqī, who remained his constant companion in all the battles, Shihnah over Iraq.⁵ He was, however, superseded

¹ I. A., 101.

² *Ibid.*, 105.

³ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 165.

in 502/1108-9 by Mujāhid al-Dīn Bahrūz, who rendered valuable services to Sultān Mūsā by realising the monies exacted from Abul Qāsim Ḥusain, the treasurer, and Abul Faraj, the son of Rais al-Ruasā and repairing the government houses.¹

The head of the police in each town was called Sāhib al-Shurṭah (Prefect of Police). In 487 we find Sahib al-shurṭah Yaman appearing at Nahr Tābiq after it had been completely burnt down in the communal riot between its inhabitants and those of the Irjā Gate (*Bāb al-Irjā*). He killed a concealed fugitive and thus became unpopular, so he was dismissed on the third day.² The police force under him was semi-military in organisation like the modern ‘gendarmes.’ Probably he was in charge of what Māwardī mentions as *Walayat al-Mazālim* (the Criminal Investigation Department).³ For purely civil purposes, however, there was another police force under the Muḥtasib or Wāli al-Ḥisbah (inquisitor), an old office whose continuance is shown, for example, by the appointment in Ramadān 501/1108 of Qādi Abul ‘Abbas Ibn Rāṭabi as Muḥtasib of Bāghdād.⁴

On the judicial side the Head of the Department was the Chief Justice (*Qādi-al-Quḍāh*), under

¹ I. A., 199.

² *Ibid.*, 98.

³ P. 73, the sovereign himself or his representative normally heard the cases.

⁴ I. A., 191.

whom were many judges (Qādis) in each province. Their various functions have been summarised by H. F. Amedroz¹ from Māwardī.² In addition to their normal judicial functions, the Chief Justice and judges played, during this period of civil war, an important part as intermediaries between the rival Sultāns and sometimes between the Sultān and the Caliph too. In Rabi' II 497/1104, Sultān Barkiyāruq sent Qādi Abul Muzaaffar and Qādi Abul Faraj Alīmad to his brother Muhammād to negotiate a settlement.³ In Rabi' II 501/1107, the Sultān sent the Chief Justice, Abu Sa'id Harawī to Ṣadaqah to assure him of his goodwill and to invite him to join a holy war against the crusaders, which was, however, foiled by the evil influence of Ṣadaqah's rash general Sa'īd. Afterwards, the Caliph also sent him to Ṣadaqah, with the terms of agreement from the Sultān.⁴

The 'Ra'īs' in each town resembled the modern mayor and acted on ceremonial occasions such as the coronation of a new Sultān. Abū Muslim, the Ra'īs of Rayy put the golden crown on Barkiyāruq's head on his accession to the throne.⁵ The Mustawfi was the chief accountant corresponding to the modern Chancellor of the Exchequer or

¹ The office of Qadi in the Āhkām Sultāniyyah of Māwardī, J. R. A. S., July 1910, also published separately.

² Pp. 61-73.

³ I. A., 154.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁵ Rāwandi, 140-141.

financial administrator. During the ministry of Sa'd al-Mulk, Zain al-Mulk Abu Sa'd b Hindū was the Mustawfi of Sultān Md. He was extravagant and taxed the people heavily and took away their property unjustly. After the death of Sa'd al-Mulk he was arrested on charges of corruption and imprisoned for many years. His property was confiscated and his houses were plundered.¹

The ‘wakildar’ was the courier between the Sultān and the Wazīr. His rank was higher than that of the ordinary Chamberlain (Hajib). Aīmīrī Qazwīnī called Zakī was appointed ‘Wakīldar’ by Sa'd al-Mulk without having any regard to his qualifications and competence. He was originally a merchant, so he was ignorant of the manners of the court. All the courtiers, and even the Sultān were offended by his rudeness, and Sa'd al-Mulk himself had to suffer for him.² Even the secretaries and scribes of this period were, generally speaking, men of no consequence and qualifications. Khalid Anūshirwan rightly laments their lack of education in the following anonymous verse : “ Woe for time, it has brought wonders, branches of knowledge and manners have been effaced ; it has brought forth scribes whom, had I my way, I would have sent back to elementary schools.”³

¹ Bundārī, 85, Rāwandī, 140, Barthold, 27.

² Bundārī, 86.

³ *Ibid.* 93.

The Sultanate, as a political institution distinct from the Caliphate, was created when the 'Abbasid power was on the wane, to accommodate the ambitions of the most prominent provincial rulers by delegating to them temporal powers and reserving to the Caliphs only the religious supervision. Maḥmūd of Ghaznah was, perhaps, the first person to assume the title of Sultān in this sense.¹ But the jurisdiction of Caliph and Sultān became coterminous for the first time in the Saljūqid empire. And as there was no clear line of demarcation between the two fields of temporal and religious matters in Islam, the two jurisdictions necessarily overlapped.² The Caliph's all-important function, it seems, was the insertion of the legitimate Sultān's name in the Khuṭbāh after his own name. This can safely be inferred from the eagerness of each of the rival claimants to the Sultanate to have his authority legalized by the Caliph during the unending civil war after the death of Malikshah. Turkān Khātūn,³ Tutush,⁴ Barkiyāruq⁵ and Md.⁶ all wanted to have their power duly authorised by the Caliph. If they

¹ Nizām al-Mulk, 44. 'Utbī. I. A., Margin, p. 19. Gardizi, 62-63.

² Samarqandī, 11.

³ Yazdī, 72. I. A., 159. Malikshah b Barkiyāruq's Khuṭbah.

⁴ I. A., 91.

⁵ Ibid, 94.

⁶ Ibid, 119, 122.

could not enforce their will by request, some of them even took recourse to the questionable means of intimidation. Nay, in times of high political tension, the rival Sultāns and even Amīrs arrogated to themselves the right to insert the name of whomsoever they liked in the Khutbāh.¹

Regarding the relations of the Saljūqid Sultāns during this period with the Caliphate of Baghdād, Dr. A. H. Siddiqī's thesis "Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia," especially the chapter on "Caliphate and Sultanate," covers the ground fairly well.² It is, therefore, proposed here simply to supplement it with a few new facts shedding more light on the matter. During this period the Caliph had no temporal control over any part of the empire except the dubious dual administration of Baghdād itself, which was a necessary corollary of the absence of the Sultān from the metropolis of Islām. At Baghdād, the Shihnah was the representative of the Sultān, responsible for the preservation of law and order in the city.³ But when he exceeded his power and oppressed the people, the Caliph

¹ As was done by Tutush after the conquest of Raḥbah in 486/1093 (I. A., 91) and by Sadaqah in substituting Md.'s name for Barkiyāruq's in 494 (I. A., 127) by Yanāl at Rayy (I. A., 147) by Turkān (I. A., 92).

² Islamic Culture, July 1936.

³ For civil and revenue affairs of Baghdād the Sultān used to appoint an 'Amid, who was the head of the Chan-

invariably used to intervene in the matter. In Rajab 487/1094 Aytakīn Jāb, the Shihnah of Bağhdād, sent his brother to punish the insolent inhabitants of the Başrah Gate which was entirely burnt down under instructions from him. The Naqīb Turad al-Zainabī had a secretary called Ibn Sinān who was murdered, so the Naqīb requisitioned a new secretary from the Shihnah to take charge of the administration. The Shihnah sent his own, Hājib Muḥammad, but the insurgent inhabitants stoned him as well. The Hajib returned to his master, the Shihnah, and reported the matter, whereupon a punitive expedition was at once dispatched to restore law and order in the distracted area, as is the primary duty of every government. The inhabitants of Karkh were too greedy to miss this opportunity of fishing in troubled waters ; they readily joined the expedition, which was already overcrowded. Arson and loot had free play : when one side revels in lawlessness, the other side is not expected to play the lamb. So excess on the part of the executive was a natural consequence of the insubordination of the inhabitants. Yet Caliph Muqtadi ordered restraint and

cry or Correspondence Department (*Dīwān al-Rasā'il*). I. A., 172. Gibb. 8. A'az Abul Maḥāsin was appointed 'Amid of Sultān Md. by his Wazīr Mu'ayyid in 493. I A , 124. Abul Ma'āli Mufaddal b 'Abd al-Razzāq and Ilghāzī were appointed tax-collector and Shihnah respectively of Bağhdād by Sultān Md. in 495/1101. I. A., 136.

cessation and the Shīhnah obeyed his order.¹ The Caliph similarly interfered with Ilghāzī in Rajab 595/1102 through the Chief Justice and Alkiya al-Harrās, the teacher of Niẓāmiyah, and prevented him from sacking the west bank of Baghdād.² The Caliph, having no army of his own, had to depend upon the troops of the Sultān and Amīrs, as we find Caliph Mustazhir appealing to Ṣadaqah in order to prevent the oppression of Yanāl at Baghdād after the failure of his request through Abdul Hasan Dāmaghānī, the Chief Justice. Sadaqa accordingly reached Baghdād on 4 Shawwāl 496/1103 and pitched his tent at Najmi. But an agreement being reached, Ṣadaqah left for Hillah, leaving his son Dubais to enforce the fulfilment of its terms. Yanāl subsequently violated the terms, oppressed the people and gave villages as fiefs to his followers. The Caliph again had to requisition the help of Ṣadaqah. This time he sent 1,000 horsemen, who marched towards Yanal with a group of the Caliph's followers (و معهم جماعة من اصحاب الخليفة) and Ilghāzī, the Shīhnah of Baghdād. On hearing this, Yanal crossed the Tigris and proceeded to Bājsarā; so the expedition came back without any fighting.² In Sha'ban 493/1100, we find Caliph Mustazhir ordering Kamāl al-Daulah Yaman to restore

¹ I.A., 90.

² *Ibid.*, 140.

peace and order in the city, as the disorders of the 'Ayyārs¹ went to extremes in the western part of Baghdād. Kamāl arrested a group of their chiefs and searched for the rest, so they had to flee from the city.² In Rabi II 488/1095, we find the public of Baghdad observing the 'day of commencing the construction of a wall of the palace as a day of festivity and ceremony by order of 'Amid al-Daulah, the wazīr of the Caliph.³

The Sultāns had, however, to take a formal oath of allegiance to the Caliph, and the latter thus became involved in the political strife of the period. Although everything was decided by the sword, the Caliph nonetheless gave the finishing touch by his *ex post facto* legal sanction to the triumphant party. The Caliph's action in fact was tantamount to a modern act of indemnity by which the legislature legalizes an illegal act of the executive. Thus we find that though Maḥmūd was *de jure* Sultān duly recognised by Caliph Muqtadi, yet the latter, replying to the deputation

¹ Corporation of robbers, originally Ghāzīs: Barthold, 215, 312; Cardizi texts, p. 5.

² I.A., 147.

³ *Ibid.*, 124. They were the cause of disorder at Baghdad in 497/1103-4. *Ibid.*, 157. They took part in the riot between Ilghāzī and the public of Baghdad in Rajab 495. *Ibid.*, 140.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 104. In Jumada I 485/1092 we find him taking a prominent part in extinguishing the fire of Baghdad by his untiring efforts. I.A., 90.

of the rebel Tutush regarding the Khuṭbāh said : “ I am waiting the arrival of messengers from the army.”¹ Again, Caliph Mustaẓhir duly invested Barkiyāruq by presenting him with the robe of honour through his ważīr, ‘Amid al-Daulah, and by delivering the Khutbah in his name under the title of Rukn al-Dīn (the pillar of religion) on Friday, 14 Muḥarram 487/1094. But in the very same year, the same Caliph delivered the Khuṭbāh in the name of the rebel Tutush after his victory over Barkiyāruq at the instance of Fakhr-al-Mulk and Aytakīn Jāb.² He acted similarly in the case of the rebel Md. by delivering the Khuṭbāh in his name under the title of “ the Refuge of the World and Religion,” on Friday, 17 Dhu'l Hijjah 492/1099 at the request of Sa'd al-Daulah Kūharain.³ The whole affair was stage-managed like a farce. In the following year we find the puppet Caliph again delivering the Khuṭbāh in Barkiyāruq’s name on Friday (mid-Šafar) two days before the latter’s arrival at Baghdād.⁴ The Caliph sent a sealed decree to Sultān Md. at the Sultān’s palace at Baghdād, guaranteeing him the redress of the misbehaviour of Barkiyāruq and his party and congratulating him on his august visit with his

¹ I.A., 91.

² *Ibid.*, 96.

³ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

brother Sanjar, and the Khuṭbāh was again automatically delivered in his name.¹ Nay, we sometimes find the Caliph actively inciting one party against the other. After the departure of Md. from Baghdād, news reached the Caliph that Barkiyāruq had slandered him at Wāsit in the presence of his nobles. So he sent after Md. and brought him back to Baghdād, narrated to him the whole story, declared his intention to march with Md. against Barkiyāruq, whereupon Md. said, “There is no need of the Commander of the Faithful’s march, I alone am strong enough for this pleasant task.”²

The Caliphate being a religious institution, the *wazirs* of the Caliph were often made responsible for the inconsistency and illegal acts of the Caliph. The English legal maxim ‘the king can do no wrong’ was perhaps practised in those early days. ‘Amid-al-Daulah b Jahīr, the *wazir* of Caliph Mustażhir, was imprisoned by Barkiyāruq apparently for the political reason of delivering the Khuṭbāh in Md.’s name. The *wazīr* further had to pay Barkiyāruq 160,000 dīnārs as arrears of annuity due from him and his father, who had been the *Wālis* of Diyār Bakr and Mawṣil during the reign of Malikshah.³ He was again made the victim of the wrath of Sultān Md. perhaps for the same political offence of delivering the Khuṭbāh in Barkiyāruq’s name.

¹ I.A., 128.

² *Ibid*, 136.

³ *Ibid*, 122.

This time he was dismissed and imprisoned together with his brothers. He had to pay a fine of 25,000 dīnārs at the instance of A'az Abul Maḥāsin, who was specially deputed to Baghdād for this purpose by Mu'ayyid, the *wazīr* of Md.¹ The *wazīrs* of the Caliph were often dismissed and appointed under instructions from the Sultān, as was done in the case of Majd al-Din Ibn Muṭṭalib who was, however, afterwards restored to his office with the permission of Sultān Md. on conditions of justice, good behaviour and non-employment of any of the protected people (اَهُل الذِّمَّة) in the State service.² Sometimes Caliph's *wazīrs* were appointed Sultān's *wazīrs* and *vice versa*.³

¹ I. A., 124.

² *Ibid.*, 191.

³ Sadidal-Mulk, Sultān's *wazir* was appointed Caliph's *wazir* (I.A., 151), while Rabib Manṣur, Caliph's *wazir*, was appointed Sultān's *wazir* (I.A., 209).

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION : ECONOMIC FACTORS

On the purely religious side, we find that Sectarianism was one of the curses of the Saljūqid empire. The decline of the strong central government facilitated the promotion and propagation of the subversive Baṭīni heresy, which in its turn still more weakened those at the head of the State by murdering the political geniuses of the time. The 'fidais' who were the lowest in the order of the Ismā‘īlis, were so fanatical and rash that they held even their own lives very cheap and death never scared them. Mothers used to weep for grief whenever they found that their sons returned home safely after the accomplishment of murders allotted to them.¹ Their first political victim was the famous Nizām al-Mulk himself, who was approached by a Dailamī boy in the guise of a plaintiff, after his breakfast in the evening of 10 Ramadān 485/1092. The boy murdered him with a knife and while he was fleeing, stumbled on the rope of the tent at Nihāwand, consequently he was caught and killed then and there.² In Ṣafar of 490/1097 they

¹ Browne, Vol. II. p. 209.

² I. A. 84. According to I. Q. 121, the murder took place at Hamadān and the assailant escaped. Bundārī (59) gives no details.

murdered all on a sudden 'Abdur Raḥman Sumai-ramī, the *wazir* of the mother of Barkiyāruq; this time also the assailant was put to death but afterwards.¹ In the end of Ramaḍān 493/1100, two Bāṭinīs assassinated Amīr Bulkābak Sarmaz, the *Shihnah* of Isfahān, in the palace of Sultān Md. at Isfahān. One of them escaped and the other was killed. Bulkābak always used to wear a coat of mail and was never without a large bodyguard, as he was very alarmed by the Bāṭinī atrocities. On this day he entered the palace with a small bodyguard and had neglected to wear his coat of mail, thus the Bāṭinīs were given a good chance.² In the year 499/1105-6 Abul 'Ala Sa'id Abu Muḥammad, Qādi of Nīshāpūr was murdered by a Bāṭinī in the cathedral mosque of Isfahān.³ Abul Muẓaffar b al-khajandī was murdered by an 'Alid Bāṭinī at Rayy as soon as he left the chair after preaching a sermon in 497/1103-4.⁴ Under the year 500/1105 Ibn al-Aṭhīr mentions the murder of Fakhr-al-Mulk, the eldest son of Nizām-al-Mulk,⁵ by a Bāṭinī, with a long fanciful story

¹ I. A. 112.

² I. A. 125. This and the murders of Arghūsh, Qumash the Nizāmite slaves, Md.'s father-in-law and other prominent partisans of Md. were imputed to Barkiyāruq. I. A. 133.

³ I. A. 163.

⁴ *Ibid.* 153.

⁵ His full name is Abul Muẓaffar 'Ali; he was the *wazir* of Barkiyāruq: after his dismissal he went to Nīshāpūr and was appointed *wazir* by Sanjar b Malikshāh. I. A. 174.

of his dream. He was fasting on 10 Muḥarram and in the afternoon he left his room, intending to go to the women's quarter when he heard the touching cry of a plaintiff, saying "Muslims are gone, there is none to remove an oppression and to take by the hand one oppressed." So he sent for him and the man handed over to him a letter. While he was pondering over it, the Bāṭinī dispatched him with a knife. He was at the time of his murder sixty-six years old. The murderer was arrested and taken before Sanjar, to whom he deposed against the nobles of the Sultān, falsely alleging that they had set him to commit the murder. The persons named, though innocent, were put to death along with the Bāṭinī. The story clearly illustrates the shrewdness and sagacity of the Bāṭinīs and shows how they used to decimate their enemies, even by their very deaths.¹

In Ṣafar 502/1108 they murdered 'Ubaidullāh b 'Ali, the Qāḍī of Isfahān, at Hamadān on Friday, when one 'Ajamī penetrated to him in the midst of his followers and did away with him. The Qāḍī was a bitter antagonist of this sect and used to wear a coat of mail out of fear. In the same year on the day of 'Id al-Fiṭr, Said b 'Abd al-Rahmān, Qāḍī of Nīshāpur, was assassinated by a Bāṭinī, who also was put to death.²

¹ I. A. 175.

² *Ibid.* 199.

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In the same year in Muḥarram, Ibn-al-Āthīr records the unnatural death of ‘Abdul Wāhid, the Shafīite jurist of Rūyān in Tabaristān. Although Browne mentions his name as one of the victims of the Bātinīs,¹ it is not quite clear from texts of the source, where the word *qata'* is used without any further² indication.

The political factions often employed the Bātinīs as their instrument in clearing the field of their opponents. The first instance is the murder of Nizām al-Mulk, which was arranged at the direction of Tājal-Mulk, his rival colleague.³ The second is the murder of Janāḥ al-Daulah, the lord of Hims, by three Persians belonging to the Bātinīyah at the cathedral mosque in 496/1102-3.⁴ They were commissioned by al-Hakīm al-Munajjim, apparently at the instigation of Rudwān, who was in open enmity with him.⁵ The third case is the murder of Mawdūd in Rabi' I 507/1113 at the cathedral mosque of Damascus, while he was walking in the courtyard of the mosque, having his hand in the hand of Tughtakīn

¹ Vol. 2, p. 311.

² I. A. 200. According to Yazdī, Sultān Barkiyāruq's assailants were also Bātinīs. He uses the same words ملاحِدٌ مخايل for the murderer of Nizām-al-Mulk also, pp. 66 and 76.

³ Yazdī, 65-66.

⁴ Gibb, pp. 57-58. I. Q. 142.

⁵ I. Q. 133. ‘Umari f. 92.

after the prayer. A Bātīnī struck him, wounding him in four places and he was at once taken to the house of Tughtakīn, who attempted in vain to break his fast. Mawdūd died on the same day, the Batini also was killed and his head was taken for identification, but nobody could identify him. So his body was burnt, perhaps as an exemplary punishment, but more probably lest he should divulge the secret, as was done by Macbeth under similar circumstances to the sleeping grooms of the murdered Duncan. Tughtakīn was suspected of complicity in the plot, not only by Sultān Md. against whom he sided with Īlghāzī, both of them allied with the Franks, but also by the crusading King of the Franks, who wrote a letter to Tugh-takīn stating that a nation whose 'Amīd was killed in the house of their Lord on their Sabbath day should be destroyed by God.¹' The last recorded case of this period is the murder of Alīmadil b Ibrāhīm b Wahsudan, the wāli of Marāghah, in the palace of the Sultān at Baghdād in the beginning of Muḥarram, 510/1116. While Alīmadil was sitting by the side of Tughtakīn, who was, perhaps, the real object of murder, a Bātīnī came, in accordance with their usual tactics, in the guise of a weeping oppressed man with a letter in his hand. He requested Alīmadil to hand over

¹ I. A. 209. There is also another version in I. A. stating that the Bātīnīs did it on their own account as they were afraid of Mawdūd.

the letter to Sultān Md. But as soon as he took the letter from his hand, the Bāṭinī struck him with a knife. Ahmadil drew him down and sat on him ; at this stage another Bāṭinī Rafīq dashed forward, but Ahmadil killed them both, then a third Rafīq came forward and killed Ahmadil.¹ Though the target was missed and Ibn-al-Aṭhīr says that the doubt of Tughtakīn and those present was dispelled by the fact that the assailants were Bāṭinīs at whose audacity they were wondering, yet the practice was more in consonance with the past record and personal philosophy² of Sultān Md. He practised a similar trick in getting rid of Amīr Ayāz on 13 Jumada II 498/1105 after his apparent reconciliation with him.³

The Bāṭinīs occupied by force or fraud many mountain fortresses of the empire⁴ and established a rule of terror throughout the country, so much so that even the wāzirs and other high officials of the state were in constant danger of loss of life. As a precautionary measure, they obtained permission from the Sultans to appear before them with a coat of mail under their ordinary civil dress,⁵ while some of them used to carry their

¹ I.A. 217.

² Samarqandī, 45.

³ I.A., 161.

⁴ Browne II, 204, 316. I. A. 131.

⁵ I. A. 199, 125, 133.

winding sheets with them wherever they went.¹ The derivation of the very word assassin from 'Hashishin' may serve to describe their horrible character.² They also took a prominent part in the unending civil war after the death of Malik-shah. Thus, we find Barkiyāruq being accused of inclining towards the Bāṭinīs by the partisans of Md.³ Nay, even the Bāṭini elements in the army of Barkiyāruq intimidated their religious opponents and were on the verge of a mutiny when Barkiyāruq ordered a ruthless suppression of them. All the Bāṭinīs of the army who were properly identified were executed. Md. b Dushmuniār, the amir of Yazd, was the leader of the projected *coup d'état*. He fled but on the second day he was overtaken by the army of the Sultan, as he had lost his way. His tent was raided and the prepared arms and armour were found. The crowd of suspects were taken out into the parade ground and killed. There were killed also a number of innocent men who were not Bāṭinīs through the instigation of their enemies.⁴ In the battle between Sanjar and Barkiyāruq, Amīr-dād Habshī b Tūntaq employed 5,000 Bāṭinī foot

¹ I. A. 120, *e.g.* Majd al-Mulk Balāsāni.

² Chambers's Dict., Encyclo. Brit.

³ I. A. 133.

⁴ Among them was the son of Kaiqubād, the military governor of Takrit, I.A. 134.

soldiers.¹ Malik Rūdwan was also sympathetic to the Bātinīs who enlisted his favour by deceitful devices and intrigues, but after his death his son Alp Arslān persecuted them at the instance of Ibn Badī‘, the Raīs of Aleppo.²

Besides the Bātinī vandalism, many other communal riots took place during this period between the Shi‘as and the Sunnis, as well as between the Shaf‘is and the Hanbalīs.³ Many lives and much property were lost in their conflicts and the ultimate result was impoverishment of the population. We may mention a few of them in detail.

In Dhu'l Hijjah 488/1095 one of the amīrs of Khurāsān mustered a huge army, marched to Nīshāpūr and besieged it. But, fortunately, the inhabitants united together and fought him valiantly, so that after about forty days' siege he had to withdraw his forces in Muḥarram 489/1095. As soon, however, as the common enemy disappeared, the emboldened inhabitants began to dissipate their energy in sectarian riots. Nīshāpūr, saved from the clutches of the Khurāsāni Amīr, was turned into a more vicious arena of communal clashes. The Hanafis and the Shaf‘īs joined hands under their respective leaders Qadī Md. b Aḥmād Sa‘īd and Abūl Qāsim b Imām-al-Haramāin Abūl Ma‘ālī al-

¹ I. A. 123.

² Gibb. 145, I.Q. 187-188. I.A. 209.

³ *Ibid.* 98.

Juwaini against the Karramites, who were led by Md. Shad. After many acts of vandalism were committed on both sides, including the destruction of the Karramite madrasahs, the Hanafis and the Shaf'is got the upper hand. There was great loss of life in this fratricidal feud.¹

On Muḥarram 10, 510/1116, there took place another great sectarian riot at the Mashhad of 'Ali b Mūsā al-Riḍā in Tūs. A certain 'Alid quarrelled with some of the learned jurists of Tūs on that day, which ultimately led to fighting, but the matter was then dropped. Afterwards both parties sought the help of their partisans and the entire inhabitants of Tūs were involved in the riot. Here also, apparently the Sūnnis besieged Mashhad and demolished it. They killed whomsoever they came across and plundered the property of all. Then they dispersed. But the inhabitants of Mashhad became so panic-stricken that they dropped the Khuṭbah, which is an essential part of the prayer on Fridays, till Ajud al-Dīn Faramars b 'Ali constructed a protective wall in 515/1121.²

Although details of such sectarian feuds are preserved to us only in a few cases, there is good reason to presume that similar feuds distracted other towns in the Empire as well, and so contributed to a general lowering of the standard of economic prosperity.

¹ I.A. 104.

² *Ibid.* 220.

The economic system of the Saljūqs offered little means of relieving the growing miseries of a bad situation. They had recourse to an indiscriminate *Iqtā'* system¹ for ready collection of land revenues, as was done by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, by introducing Permanent Settlement in Bengal during the decline of the Moghul Empire. The contrast between the two systems was that the *Iqtā'* was unstable while the Permanent Settlement of Bengal is still in vogue. Besides, unlike the *Iqtā'*, the Permanent Settlement had no military stipulation attached to it ; it was a purely civil arrangement while *Iqtā'* made the sief-holders military vassals of the Sultān by requiring them to maintain troops of their own entirely at their own expense, to be utilised by the Sultān in times of war. This device was also made to relieve the imperial treasury of the drain on the upkeep of the armed forces of the state. But this palliative proved a fatal weapon in the hands of the ambitious amirs who vied with one another for the privilege of milking the most productive districts.² Furthermore, it provided a standing encouragement to rebellion and the foundation of independent principalities. The rivalry

¹ Some of the *Iqtā'*'s, e.g., '*Iqta'-i-tamlik*' were certainly hereditary, as we learn from the letters patent (*Manshur*) of Sultan Md. to Zahīr al-Dīn Tughtakin granting him the province of Syria. I.Q. 194.

² Gibb. 34.

between the amīrs has already been dealt with in detail ; as regards the independent principalities, mention may be made of the Saljūqs of Rūm and Kirmān as well as that of the dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs who succeeded the great Saljūqs.¹

The unhappy empire suffered from many earthquakes of unprecedented violence, which reduced prosperous places to ruins during this period. In Jumada II 508/1114 a great earthquake occurred in Syria and Jazīrah, as a result of which Ruhā, Harrān, Sumaisāt, Bālis and other towns became desolate and many people lost their lives under the fall of buildings.² In Rabi' II 487/1094 there took place many consecutive earthquakes of longer duration, but there was less destruction.³

The visitation of plagues and pestilence was also very common in those days, and famines were not infrequent. These were caused chiefly by serious droughts which laid waste the countryside, or by the excessive floods which totally destroyed the crops. As an illustration of the former we may mention the great famine of 'Irāq in 493/1099-1100. The rivers became dry as there was no rain for a long time. Prices rose abnormally high, so much so that one Kurr of wheat was sold for seventy dinārs and often exceeded even that. People perished in great numbers, sometimes six dead bodies

¹ I.A. 110-111.

² Gibb. 149, I.Q. 191, I.A. 214.

³ *Ibid.*, 98, I.Q. 127.

were carried in a single bier.¹ The latter would be exemplified by the description of the flood of 'Iraq in 802/1108-9. In April the Tigris rose very high ; the roads being inundated, communications were cut off and the winter and summer crops were drowned. A great famine broke out, the price of one round pad (Kurr) of bran mixed with flour went up to ten Imāmī dīnārs and there was no bread at all. People lived on dates and green broad beans. The inhabitants of Sawād had nothing to eat during the whole month of Ramadān and half of Shawwāl except dry grass and mulberries.² In 492/1098-9 a terrible famine broke out in Khurasan which lasted for two years, as the heavy snowfall destroyed the crops completely. It was followed by the pestilence of Cholera, of which many people died ; the number was so great that burial could not be provided for them.³

¹ I.A. 125.

² *Ibid.* 198.

³ *Ibid.* 121. Regarding measures to prevent famines the following is the solitary recorded instance. In 489/1095-6, when the six planets were in the same line, the astrologers predicted a deluge like that of Noah. Then the Caliph Mustazhir summoned Ibn 'Isūn the astrologer, who opined that during Noah's time the seven planets were in the same line and that a city or a place where many people from different countries gathered together might be submerged. The people apprehended Baghdad as falling within the definition ; and the dams and weak points on the bank were consequently repaired and strengthened. I.A. 107.

Moreover, these famines were often the direct result of the depredations of the rapacious and war-like bands whom Professor H. A. R. Gibb justly describes as robber-baron amīrs.¹ Some of them even practised brigandage as a profession with the connivance of the local wālis. The story of Yāqūtī, nephew of Suqmān, will make the matter clear. After his release by Karbūqa through the intercession of his grandmother, he stayed near Mardin with a view to capturing it from its wāli, the singer of Barkiyāruq, who had already been harassed by the Kurdish brigands. Yāqūtī wrote to the Singer wāli in the following words : “ We have become friends and I intend to fortify your city in order to prevent the Kurds from attacking it and I shall plunder other places and thereby gather riches which I shall spend in your city and I shall live in the suburb.” Accordingly the wāli permitted him to carry on his plan and he began to plunder from Bab-i-Khilat up to Baghdād. Some of the soldiers of the fort also used to accompany him for the sake of booty. He used to honour them and never interfered with them ; so they confided in him. On a certain day it happened that most of the soldiers accompanied him. But when they returned from the raid he gave orders to arrest and imprison them and then preceded them to the fort and called out to their families to open the gate on pain of death.

¹ P. 22.

On their refusal he killed one of them and the panic-stricken residents surrendered the fort to him. He made it his headquarters and proceeded to Nusaibin and plundered Jazīrah which was under Jikirmish.¹

Again, the prolonged siege of prosperous towns by rival amīrs, Fātimid navies, and later by crusaders, impoverished these trade emporia to a very large extent, and the frequency of sieges made their recovery almost impossible. Nay, they often gave rise to temporary famines of great severity.² In Jumada II 494/1101, we find the army of Sanjar destroying everything they could lay hands upon at Dāmaghān. The terrified inhabitants took shelter in the fort of Kardkūh. Prices rose high till the people ate corpses of dogs and even human flesh.³ Even the army of Sultān Barkīyarūq ravaged the country on his way from Baghdad to Wasit. Abu Ali al-Fariqi the Qadī of Wāsit had to petition the Sultan repeatedly in order to prevent its being plundered by his army in 495/1101.⁴ In the same year the army of Md. plundered and laid waste Tāriq Khurāsān, where they were temporarily stationed.⁵ Md. and Sanjar sacked Hamadān and exacted money from its wealthy inhabitants ; the Rais of Hamadān alone was fined 100,000 dīnārs.⁶

¹ I. A. 163.

² I. Q. 127.

³ I. A. 126.

⁴ *Ibid.* 123, 137. So did the army of Tutush in Rabī' II. 587, I. Q. 126, 129. Dhahabī. f. 94a.

⁵ I. A. 127.

During the prolonged siege of Isfahān by Barkiyāruq in Jumada I 495/1102, Md. drove out from the city the weak and the indigent, so that the quarters became uninhabited and provisions ran short and the people began to eat horses, camels and the like. He exacted money by force from the inhabitants to satisfy the ever-increasing demand of his troops. Prices rose very high, ten mans of wheat were sold for a dīnār, four riṭls of meat for a dīnār and every 100 riṭls of straw for four dīnārs ; and furniture became cheap for want of customers.¹

In Rabī‘ I 496/1102, during the Qaisari tangle, we find Ilghāzi and Suqmān plundering Dujail. “They stayed neither at a large village nor at a small one but they plundered the properties and spoiled the maidens,” says Ibn al-Athīr.² The ‘Arabs and Kurds of Sadaqah also ravaged Nahr Malik, but unlike the Turkmens they did not meddle with women. They simply destroyed everything they came across by sword or fire. The means of living were thus ruined and prices rose high ; the wheat that was sold ten riṭls for a qīrāt became three riṭls for a qīrāt, and every other commodity followed suit.³

At the end of 506/1113, we find Baldwin, the Frankish King, consecutively raiding the villages

¹ I. A. 138. I. Q. 127. Dhahabi *f* 94a.

² I. A. 148.

³ *Ibid.* 149.

surrounding Damascus and thereby causing a famine in the city. Consequently prices rose high and provisions became scanty. So in Muḥarram of the following year, Mawdūd of Mawṣil, Tamīrak of Sanjar, Ayāz b. Ḥāfiẓ and Tughtakīn of Damascus took concerted action against the Crusaders.¹

Arson and outbreak of fire, in the absence of any fire brigade, were responsible for the desolation of prosperous towns and flourishing villages throughout the Empire. In Jumada I 485/1092, a fire broke out at Baghdād in which Nahr al-M‘āla, ‘Aqd al-Hadīd up to Kharbat al-Hirrās and Gate of the Mint, the quarter of money-exchangers and florists, together with many inhabitants, were burnt down.² In Dhūl Hijjah 501/1108, Kharābah Ibn Jardah was burnt in which many people perished and uncountable property was destroyed. Some people escaped through a hole which they dug into the wall of the ward, to the cemetery of the Abraz Gate. A group of Jews did not shift anything on account of their Sabbath day. After this there took place many other fires at different quarters, and Ibn-al-Athīr gives a fascinating love-story about the origin of these fires

¹ I. A. 208. Gibb 132, I. Q. 182-184. According to I. Q. he incessantly raided at Bathaniyah one of its districts and as a result the road was intercepted.

² I. A. 90.

which made the inhabitants restless.¹ In 510/1116-17, a great fire broke out in the sheep folds near the Nizāmīyyah College and the woodwork within was burnt down ; the fire spread to Salsalah quarter and the sparks flew to the Marātib Gate where some houses were burnt ; the library of the Nizāmiyyah was also burnt down, but the books were saved as the jurists shifted them in good time.²

Again, as the Bātinīs succeeded in establishing a sort of brigand government within the imperial state, the revenues of the places under the *de facto* authority of the former were naturally lost to the *de jure* sovereignty of the latter. This queer kind of rival duplication of jurisdiction led to the abject pauperisation of the population and to the deficiency of the imperial 'Exchequer.'³ So the Sultāns resorted to base means of collecting revenues by imposing illegal customs and excise duties (Mukūs). Malikshah abolished all kinds of taxes that were calculated to be a barrier to the natural flow of commerce and trade in 479/1086.⁴ Thus we find commerce at its best during the last few

¹ P. 191-192. I. Q. says that more than 500 houses were burnt down and the inhabitants became paupers, p. 162.

² I. A. 220. Shams al-Dīn, f. 267.

³ This was the reason of Sultān Md.'s persecution of the Bātinīs in the beginning of his reign, 500/1106-7. I. A., 181.

⁴ I. Q. 118. I. A. 88.

years of his reign, with its system of free circulation of bills of exchange from Khurasan to Antioch. Nizām al-Mulk gave a bill of exchange on Antioch to the ferrymen of the Oxus (*Jihūn*) in 471/1078.¹ Sultān Md. tried to emulate his father in Sha'bān 501/1108 by abolishing, perhaps momentarily, as was the case before, customs and excise duties, and in commemoration of this ‘free trade’ policy signboards were erected at the central markets of ‘Irāq.²

Commerce was stifled by the political unsettlement and unending revolts, although a fresh impetus was given to it by the direct contact of the West with the East through the agency of the Crusaders. Furthermore warfare and rebellion being the order of the day, most of the male adults were recruited for fighting in the fields of battle. Thus, the factors of production were used as agents of destruction at the whim of the jingoist amīrs and young Sultāns. Here and there, however, we find some benevolent spirits trying to protest against the prevailing jingoism of the period by offering the rival Sultān’s and amīr’s sound advice for amicable settlement of their differences. But their efforts were foiled by the self-seeking amīrs. We find wazīr A‘az Abul Maḥasin and Amīr Ayāz readily responding to the peace efforts of ‘Amīd Baldaji in 495/1101 ; and

¹ Qazwīni-Tārīkh-i-Guzidah, 444.

² I. A., 191.

in Jumada II of the same year, the treaty was violated by Md. through the active help of Amīr Yanāl b. Anūshṭakīn, who deserted Barkiyāruq and joined Md. after persecuting the Bāṭinīs of the mountain fortresses.¹

Owing to the depletion of the imperial treasury, the Sultāns were often satisfied with a petty sum of money as a share of the brigandage and treachery of the amīrs and their deputies. Thus, we find in 495/1101-2, when Sarkhāb b. Badr was defeated by Ilqarabli, the former's military governors of Khaftidhkan rebelled against him and occupied it with more than 2,000,000 dīnārs, and when Sultān Barkiyāruq was passing by it, they sent him 200,000 dīnārs.²

Even the Sultāns did not shrink from handing over their own officials to their enemies if a handsome price for their heads was offered. According to Rāwandī,³ Sultān Md. sold the head of Abū Hashim, the Ra'īs of Hamadān for 500,000 dīnārs to his wazīr Aḥmad b. Niẓām al-Mulk. But when Abū Hashim came to know of it, he secretly came to the Sultān at Isfahān after a week's journey by a roundabout way. He bribed Lala Qaratagīn, a servant of the Sultān, by paying him 10,000 dīnārs in ten purses and thus got admittance to the

¹ I. A. 137, 154.

² *Ibid.*, 144.

³ Pp, 162-165.

Sultān at night. Qutlagh Khatun, the Sultān's wife was present and Abū Hashim presented a unique pearl, the like of which was not in the Sultān's possession. After praising the Sultān and shedding tears, Abū Hashim pathetically appealed to the Sultān as a descendant of the Prophet and offered 800,000 dīnārs for the head of Alīmad b. Nizām al-Mulk ; and the Sultān, being a Mammon-worshipper agreed to the proposal. Abū Hashim returned to Hamadān with an officer of the Treasury, who brought to the Sultān the stipulated amount within a month. Abū Hashim paid the entire amount out of his own treasury without borrowing or selling anything. This story illustrates that the officers of the State became extraordinarily rich at the expense of the people.¹

The Sultān did a similar thing with Zain al-Mulk Abū S'ad, his Mustawfi in 506/1112-1113, after his arrival at Isfahān from Baghdād. According to Bundārī he handed over Abū Sa'd to Tuntāsh for 200,000 dīnārs, who took him to Sāwah and crucified him in its street on Friday, and the amīrs made the Sultān forget about the amount which was misappropriated by Ibn al-Kāfī, the officiating wazīr.² Ibn-al-Athīr, however, gives a different version.³ According to him Abū Sa'd was handed over to

¹ Also corroborated by Bundārī 89-90 with slight variations. According to I. A., (200) 700,000 ; Khālid Anushirwan himself was the person deputed to bring the money.

² P. 96.

³ I. A., 207.

Amīr Kāmyār on account of a grudge between them. When he reached Rayy, he mounted Abū Sa'd on a horse with a gold litter, proclaiming that the Sultān had presented Abu Sa'd with a * robe of honour for a fixed sum of money. Thus, he realised a large amount of money from the family of Abu Sa'd and then crucified him. The motive of his arrest, as given by Ibn-al-Athīr, was that he used frequently to talk ill of the Caliph and the Sultān.¹ Besides, the Sultāns illegally exacted huge sums from their helpless subjects in times of distress and allowed the troops to plunder the country in return for their services. Sultān Md. exacted 50,000 dīnārs from Mukhtass al-Mulk.² He also made illegal exactions from Abū'l Qāsim and Abū'l Faraj in 502.³

¹ I. A., 208.

² Bundārī, 106-07.

³ I. A., 199.

PART II

Survey of the Political History (485/1092— 511/1117)

CHAPTER V

MAHMUD b. MALIKSHAH'S REIGN (SHAWWAL 485/1092—SHAWWAL 487/1094)

The Saljūqid supremacy was at its zenith during the eighties of the eleventh century. But the famous Nizām al-Mulk, whose mild diplomacy and sagacity were responsible for preserving the cordial relations between the Caliph and the Sultān on the one hand, and for maintaining the effective control of the central government over the unwieldy wālis on the other, suddenly fell from the favour of the Court.¹ Soon after, he was assassinated by a Bāṭinī, near Nihāwand, at the age of ninety-three, on 10 Ramādān 485/1092 while he was on his way to Baghdād with Malikshah. Whether the

¹ It is clear from Bundārī, pp. 59-60, I. A., pp. 84-85, and I. Q., p. 121, that Nizām al-Mulk was not actually dismissed. Rāwandi, Fadl Allah, Qazwīnī and other Persian historians got the idea of dismissal from the verse of Abul Ma'ali Nahhās, which might as well mean that the reconstruction of the ministry took place after the murder of Nizām al-Mulk.

Sultān was directly and personally involved in this plot is not certain. That the impertinence and officiousness of the numerous sons and grandsons of the great administrator holding important imperial offices led to the rupture between the Sultān and his wazīr, appears to be beyond doubt.¹ Malikshah followed his wazir to the grave after thirty-five days.² He was at the time thirty-eight. Thus was fulfilled the prediction of the enraged and disgraced wazīr when he said : “Tell the Sultān on my behalf that the stability of that crown is dependent on this inkpot, and their union is strength and advantage, but when the one is eliminated, the other goes with it.”³ Turkān and Tāj al-Mulk were instrumental both in changing the mind of Malikshah against Nizām al-Mulk and finally bringing about his death. The subject of contention was the heir-apparentship of the Empire. Turkān had been cherishing the hope of raising her infant son, Mahmud, to the Sultānate after Malikshah, and Nizām al-Mulk was naturally favourable to Barkiyārūq, the eldest surviving son of the Sultān by another wife.⁴ She succeeded, however, by her tactics in installing Mahmud to the

¹ I. A., 84.

² According to I. Q., 121, and Bundārī, 59, 33 days. According to Price, 18 days.

³ I. A., 84-85. Bundārī, 59-60.

⁴ Bundārī, 58-60. Rāwandī, 140. Yazdi, pp. 65-66.

Sultānate.¹ Barkiyāruq was taken into custody at a precautionary measure.² But when the news of the death of Malikshah became known to the followers of Nizām al-Mulk, they rose in arms, rescued Barkiyāruq read the Khutbāh in his name at Isfahān and proclaimed him Sultān. Thus many people gathered round him and a battle took place between the rival forces of Barkiyāruq and Turkān at the end of Dhul Hijjah 485/1092 near Burūjird.³

The army of Turkān was defeated owing to the defection of some of the amīrs who went over to Barkiyāruq. The routed army returned to Isfahān but Barkiyāruq followed it and besieged the town.⁴ Tāj al-Mulk took part in this battle. After the defeat he fled to some part of Burūjird, but was caught up later and taken to the army of Barkiyāruq while it was besieging Isfahān. Barkiyāruq, aware of his excellent accomplish-

¹ Ibn Abi al-Sarur f. 156. On the rôle of Turkān in this struggle see above, page 8.

² According to Rāwandī (pp. 140-141) and Bundārī, p. 76, Barkiyāruq was not arrested but the followers of Nizām al-Mulk took him out of Isfahān at night to the direction of Sāwah and Abhah, where they appointed Kumushtagīn his 'Atabeg.' They ultimately took him to Rayy, made him ascend the throne and Abu Muslim, the Rais of Rayy put the golden crown on his head ; and at the gate of Rayy about 20,000 troops gathered round him.

³ I. A., 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

ments, intended to appoint him wazir. Tāj-al-Mulk on his part tried to reconcile the Niẓāmites in vain. At the instigation of ‘Uthmān, a Niẓāmite slave, he was assassinated in Muḥarram 486/1093.¹ Turkān, thus deprived of her wazir, compromised with Barkiyāruq. But she never gave up her long-cherished plan of self-aggrandisement. She then allured Ismāīl b. Yāqūtī to rebel against Barkiyāruq.² After the sudden death of Ismāīl, she again came to terms with Barkiyāruq. Under cover of this false settlement she tried to ally herself with Tutuš. This time sudden death put an end to her career of intrigues.³

Tutuš was the wāli of Damascus and its neighbouring provinces. As he was proceeding to Bāghdād to see his brother and liege-lord Malikshah in 485/1092, the news of the Sultān's death reached him at Ḥīt, which he immediately seized and thence returned to Damascus in order to muster his forces for an attempt to wrest the Sultānate for himself.⁴ He tried to occupy Rahbah and wrote to its wāli to surrender it but without success.⁵ At Damascus he raised a huge army and spent a large amount of money on its equipment. His intention was first to march to Aleppo,

¹ I. A., 89.

² *Ibid.*, 92. Rāwandī, 141-42.

³ I. A., 99. Rāwandī, 142.

⁴ I. A., 90.

⁵ I. Q., 122.

where Qasim al-Daulah Āqsunqur was the wālī. Seeing the dissensions among the sons of his late master, and the inadequacy of his own forces to fight the usurper, Āqsunqur joined Tutush and marched with him. He further wrote to Yāghisiyān, wālī of Antioch and Būzān, wālī of Ruhā and Harrān to obey Tutush pending the final issue of the forthcoming conflict between the sons of Malikshāh. So they also joined hands with Tutush and delivered the *khuṭbāh* in his name in their respective provinces. Then they all marched together to Rahbah and occupied it by capitulation in Muḥarram 486/1093.¹ Tutush restored order in Rahbah and appointed his own officials.² Afterwards they marched to Naṣībīn, the inhabitants of which were hostile to Tutush, inasmuch as they openly abused him. Tutush however besieged it and finally occupied it by force in Ṣafar 486/1093. After a terrible sack of the town it was handed over to Md. the ‘Uqailid.³ The next object of the expedition was Mawṣil, which was in a troubled condition. There were two factions, one supporting the cause of Safia Khātūn and her son ‘Ali by her late husband, Sharaf al-Daulah, and the other siding with Md. her stepson. In a battle near Kanāsa, ‘Ali won the day and occupied Mawṣil, which was, however, soon handed over to

¹ I. A., 91.

² I. Q., 122.

³ I. A., 91.

his step-father Ibrāhīm on his release by Turkān after the death of Malikshah, who imprisoned him.¹

After the conquest of Nasibin, Tutush asked Ibrāhīm to deliver the Khutbāh in his name and to grant him safe conduct to Bağhdād. The request being refused, a battle took place at Muḍayya' in Rabī' I 486/1093.² The parties were unequally balanced, 30,000 men fought for Ibrāhīm while Tutush had only 10,000 men, yet Tutush was victorious because Būzān and Āqsunqur were on his left and right wings respectively. Ibrahim and some of the 'Arab amīrs were taken captives and put to death. The property of the 'Arabs—their camels, goats, horses and equipment, were taken as booty. Many 'Arab women committed suicide for fear of ignominious treatment and captivity.³

Ibn al-Qalānisī gives a very graphic and pathetic description of the atrocities.⁴

Tutush and the party next marched to Diyār Bakr in Rabi' II of the year and captured Mayāfāriqīn and the whole of Diyār Bakr from Ibn al-Marwān and afterwards moved to Adharbaijān.⁵

¹ I.A., 91.

² According to I. Q., on Sunday, the 2nd Rabī'I on the bank of the river Harmas, p. 123.

³ I.A., 91.

⁴ I.Q., 122.

⁵ I.A., 91-92.

By this time, the news of the revolt of Tutush reached Barkiyāruq, who had succeeded in occupying Rayy, Hamadān and the intermediate districts. So he at once dispatched an army against Tutush. When the armies approached one another, Āqsunqur and Būzān changed sides in accordance with their projected scheme. Tutush, finding himself unequal to the situation, returned to Syria at the end of Dhū'l Hijjah¹ and thus, for the time being Barkiyāruq's position became secure.

On his arrival at Damascus, Tutush raised a great army and again in 487/1094 marched to Aleppo to capture the Sultānate. This time, however, Āqsunqur and Būzān came out together and marched with Karbuqā, who was sent by Barkiyāruq to oppose Tutush. The parties came into conflict near Nahr Sabain, adjoining Tall-al-Sultān at a distance of six farasakhs from Aleppo in Jumada I. Owing to defection in the camp of Āqsunqur, Tutush won the battle and Āqsunqur was seized and put to death.² Karbūqā and Būzān took refuge at Aleppo which was besieged and afterwards handed over to Tutush by the residents of Qal'at al-Sharīf.³ Tutush arrested Karbuqā and Būzān and sent his army to Ruhā and Harran, the provinces of Būzān, but the army was resisted by the inhabitants. So Būzān was put to

¹ I.Q., 124.

² I.A., 95-96. Al-Makin f. 175.

³ I.Q., 127.

death and his head was sent to them and then they surrendered to the army of Tutush. Karbūqa was sent to Hims where he remained in chains till he was released by Rudwān b Tutush after the death of his father.¹

Encouraged by this victory, Tutush sought to carry through his plan and marched for further conquests. At this time Barkiyāruq was at Naṣibīn, whence he also marched to stop Tutush's progress. He thus crossed the Tigris at a place above Mawṣil and proceeded to Irbil and thence to the province of Sarkhāb b Badr. He pitched his camp at a distance of nine farasakhs from Tutush's headquarters. Barkiyāruq had only 1,000 men, while Tutush had an army 50,000 strong. Amīr Ya'qūb b Abiq, from the side of Tutush, attacked Barkiyāruq, defeated his army and plundered his camp in Shawwāl 487/1094. Barkiyāruq escaped with amīrs Barsuq, Kumushtaḡīn and Yāruq and journeyed to Isfahān. Maḥmud was naturally favourable to his elder brother and the two brothers embraced each other. But the intriguing amīr Unar Bulkābak was trying to keep the last words of Turkān by capturing Barkiyāruq. They were determined to blind him in order to make him unfit for the Sultānate.² In the meantime Maḥmud was attacked with small-

¹ I.A., 96.

² *Ibid.*, 96.

pox, and the physician, Amin al-Daulah b Tilmidh, persuaded the amirs to postpone the blinding till the recovery of Mahmud, as they were against Tutush, so that if Mahmud died they could make Barkiyaruq Sultān. Mahmud, however, died at the end of Shawwāl 487/1094, aged about seven years and Barkiyaruq became the sole Sultān.¹

¹ I. A., 96-97.

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF BARKIYĀRUQ B. MALIKSHAH

(SHAWWAL 487/1094 RABI II 498/1104)

The death of Turkān and of her son Maḥmud freed Barkiyāruq from his most immediate danger. He could now count on the support of at least a large proportion of the amirs who had hitherto opposed him on behalf of Maḥmud, and of all those who, for one reason or another, were hostile to Tutush. But in spite of this improvement in his prospects, he was yet far from having secured his position; and by ill fortune he was at this critical juncture incapacitated by an attack of small-pox for some two months. (Dhū'l-Qa'da and Dhū'l Hijjah).¹

Meantime Tutush was continuing his triumphal progress in the north.² After the occupation of Harrān and Ruhā, he had secured Mesopotamia, Diyār Bakr and Adharbayjān, by his defeat of Barkiyāruq, and now began to advance into Persia. At Hamadān the Amīr Ākhur³ at first resisted,

¹ Since Maḥmud died "at the end of Shawwāl" and Barkiyāruq was at that time well enough to hold the usual mourning ceremonies. I.A., 97.

² I.Q., 127.

³ Amīr Ākhur is a title—he was "Master of the Horse." I.A., 101.

but on venturing out to attack and loot Tutush's luggage-train, he was caught and defeated, and saved his life only by surrendering Hamadān. Tutush now prepared to march on Isfahān direct, hoping to seize the opportunity of Barkiyāruq's illness, and opened a secret correspondence with the amīrs. Uncertain whether Barkiyāruq would recover, they thought it prudent to conceal their hostility to Tutush and promised to join his side. Another stroke of good fortune also favoured Tutush for the moment. Fakhr al-Mulk, son of Niẓām al-Mulk who, like the other members of his family favoured the cause of Barkiyāruq, fell into his hands at Hamadān. His life was spared at the instance of Yāghisiyān, who pointed out the advantages of appointing him as wazir and so gaining the powerful sympathy of the adherents of their house. Added to this, Tutush had brought pressure to bear on the Caliph through his Shihnah at Baghdād, Aytakīn, and after Barkiyāruq's defeat, had been proclaimed Sultān at Baghdād.¹

Barkiyāruq's position thus seemed desperate, and had Tutush carried out his plan of marching

¹ The persistent hostility of the local troops towards him was, however, shown by the reception given to his next Shihnah, Yūsuf b Abiq, on his arrival in Ṣafar of the following year. He was refused entry at first and only after defeating the Mazyadite forces at Ba'qūbā could he force his way in, just before the news of the death of Tutush arrived. I.A., 101.

directly on Isfahān, there seems little reason to doubt that he would have established himself in the Sultānate with the minimum of opposition. Fortunately for Barkiyāruq, however, the opportunity was thrown away by a characteristic display of revengefulness on the part of Tutush.

The Amir Ākhur, after his surrender of Hamadān, had made a show of loyal submission to Tutush, and asked permission to proceed to Jurbādaqān (half-way between Hamadān and Isfahān) to prepare forage and provision for the advance of Tutush's army. Thence he fled to Isfahān, and exposed the situation to Barkiyāruq. Tutush, in revenge, sacked Jurbādaqān, and instead of continuing on to Isfahān, turned north-eastwards and occupied Rayy. No reason is alleged for this strange change of plan, though possibly the difficulty of furnishing forage and provisions for a large force in mid-winter may account for it.¹

Barkiyāruq was thus afforded a breathing-space, which was energetically utilised. His first action on recovery was to counter Tutush's appointment of Fakhr al-Mulk by appointing

¹ According to Ibn al-Athir's account (p. 101), it was from Rayy that Tutush opened communications with the amīrs at Isfahān, but as this episode is expressly placed during Barkiyāruq's illness, it must have taken place in Dhu'l-Qa'da at latest, and in any case it fits in more naturally with Tutush's preparations for the march on Isfahān.

the latter's brother Mu'ayyid al-Mulk as his own wazir (Dhul Hijja). Mu'ayyid al-Mulk at once opened up communication with the amīrs of Iraq and Khurāsan and gained their adhesion to Barkiyāruq.

Thus reassured, Barkiyāruq set out with a small force from Isfāhān early in the following month (Muḥarram 488/1095) and on arrival at Jārbadaqān, halted to await reinforcements. There "troops advanced to join them from every side," until, with an army now swelled to the figure of 30,000 men, according to Ibn al-Athīr, he felt himself strong enough to take the offensive. Tutush had alienated all sympathies by his harshness and by the ruthlessness with which his army had plundered the country;¹ the troops of Āqsunkur and Būzān still nourished bitter feelings towards him, and he realised that he could not hope to stand a siege in Rayy.² Risking all on the issue of the conflict, he marched out towards Barkiyāruq, and at the village of Dashlū, twelve farsakhs from Rayy, battle was joined on 17 Ṣafar. In spite of his own brave stand, Tutush's troops were defeated, and in the heat of battle, one of Āqsunkur's men revenged his former master's execution by seizing

¹ I.Q., 129.

² According to I.Q. (127) he had in fact called for his son Rudwān, his deputy in Damascus, to join him with reinforcements. I.A., 102.

and decapitating him.¹ The remnants of his officers and troops fled back to Syria leaving Barkiyāruq undisputed master of the field.

Barkiyāruq had now at last vindicated his claim² to the Sultānate by the disappearance of all serious rivals. It remained to consolidate his position and assert, as far as possible, his control over the territories which had acknowledged the suzerainty of his father. The central provinces, Jibal and ‘Irāq, were for the moment quiet, undisturbed by revolts, and Mawṣil was recovered (from the governor appointed by Tutush) by the amirs Karbūqā and Altūntāsh, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Barkiyāruq.² The two principal areas from which opposition might be apprehended were consequently Khurāsān and Syria.

Although Khurāsān was the cradle of the Saljūqid power, it always remained a somewhat difficult problem for the Great Saljūqs to maintain their hold over it. In the absence of full information, it is difficult to discover in detail the causes of this restiveness, but two factors may generally be discerned. In the first place, the extent of the province itself made it necessary for the governor to maintain a very large standing

¹ I.Q., 130. It is also narrated that a slave of Būzān (*sic* Quran) was his assailant. Recueil Hist. Crois. Or., Vol. III, 485, from al-Najūm al-Zāhirah.

² See *ante*, pp. 28-24, also I.A., 107.

army, while its wealth and the facilities for recruiting Turkish troops from the neighbouring frontier districts supplied him with ready means for doing so. The possession of such large forces formed a standing temptation to assert independence at times of disturbance, when the Sultān was precluded from intervening effectively. It must not be forgotten also that large numbers of Turkmen tribes had entered Khurāsān along with and after the Saljūqids, and though we are badly informed about their pasture areas and activities, there can be little doubt that, like the Turkmen tribes in other provinces, they were always ready to join in any enterprise which promised warfare and ready loot.

In addition to this external factor there was another arising from the character of the population itself. Their feudal organization, which had been maintained under the Sāmānids, and fighting capacities made them valuable allies, or, on the other hand, redoubtable opponents. This warlike character was even more marked amongst the inhabitants of the large cities, Rayy, Nīshāpūr, Merv, Balkh, etc., who not infrequently closed their gates in the face of even powerful armies, and forced their rulers to respect their liberties. There were not a few cases when these cities even took the initiative in political action.¹

¹ It was rumoured, for example, that even during the lifetime of Maḥmud the citizens of of Balkh were in

For good or evil, however, the cities, and the population generally, lacked, so far as can be seen, any organisation which might enable them to concert joint action ; each acted simply in its own interests, without paying heed to the others. It is possible that religious factions entered into the matter to some extent ; Nīshāpūr had a reputation for Shi'ite proclivities, and was, in the very year of Barkiyāruq's victory over Tutush, the scene of a violent conflict between Sunnis and Karramīs. Thus the population by itself might annoy the central government, but could scarcely endanger its authority ; if however cities and governor made common cause against the central government, it might prove a very difficult task to re-establish control.

In the conflict which now ensued between Barkiyāruq and Arslān Arghūn, however, such evidence as can be gathered from Ibn al-Athīr's narrative is against the hypothesis of any co-operation between the population and the latter. Arslān Arghūn, a brother of Malikshah, had left Bağhdād after his brother's death, with the evident intention of taking advantage of the dispute over the succession in order to make himself independent in Khurāsān. He was repulsed by the population of Nīshāpūr, but found an ally in Qūdūn,

communication with Takash b Aip-Arslān, then imprisoned at Takrit, until he was put to death by Barkiyāruq in Rabi' I, 487 (I. A., 98, 99. 104). See also note on pp. 24-25 *ante*.

the governor of Merv, who surrendered the city to him and assisted him to gain possession of Balkh, Tirmidh, and subsequently of Western Khurāsān as well, including Nīshāpūr. This done, Arslan offered to recognise Barkiyāruq's title to the sultānāt, and pay tribute, on condition that all Khurāsān, excluding Nīshāpūr,¹ were given him in fief. Maḥmūd was still alive, and under the circumstances Barkiyāruq was unable to do other than acquiesce for the time being.

The relations between uncle and nephew remained for a time on this basis even after the death of Tutush. In the course of the same year, however, Barkiyāruq removed Mu'ayyid al-Mulk from the wazīrate and imprisoned him, at the instance of his mother, Zubaida Khātūn,² replacing him by Fakhr al-Mulk, and the real control of affairs passed into the hands of her favourite, Majd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī. Arslān Arghūn seized upon this as a pretext to break off relations with Barkiyāruq, who retaliated by despatching several squadrons to Khurāsān under the command of his uncle, Arslān's half-brother, Būribars b. Alp-Arslān. The latter was successful in the first

¹ This exclusion of Nīshāpūr suggests that I. A. (108) is mistaken in including Nīshāpūr in his conquests—or else the continued hostility of its population suggested to him that his position would be stronger without it.

² See *ante*, p. 16. Bundari, 79, 81; I. A., 104-05.

encounter, but withdrew to Herat while Arslān Arghūn assembled fresh forces at Balkh and forcibly recovered Merv, dismantling its fortifications and putting a great many of its inhabitants to death. He succeeded also in winning over the Amīr Ākhur, who was with Būribars, and though the Amīr Ākhur and his son were put to death by a rival commander, the dissension amongst his forces so weakened Būribars that he was defeated and captured towards the end of 488. Arslān Arghūn now felt himself secure in his independence, and for a year governed Khurāsān with the utmost rigour, destroying the walls of the cities and the principal fortresses, amongst them the Quhandiz of Nīshāpur. His suspicions extended also to the principal officers of the 'askar of Khurāsān, many of whom were put to death. 'Imād al-Mulk, another of Niẓām al-Mulk's sons, who had joined him and been appointed his wazīr, also suffered the common fate of confiscation and execution.

Such tyrannical conduct (especially on the part of a usurper) could not be long in meeting retribution. Before the end of 489, Barkiyāruq already had a second army on the way, and it was possibly the fear of a mutiny of his own troops that led Arslān Arghun to the extreme step of putting Būribars to death after a year's imprisonment in Tirmidh. Shortly afterwards in Muḥarram 490, Arslān was assassinated by his own guards, outraged by his cruelties, and a seven-year-old son

of his proclaimed in his stead.¹ The imperial forces were under the nominal command of Barkiyāruq's brother Sanjar, then only eleven or thirteen years of age, to whom Qumaj was attached as 'Atābeg and al-Tughra'i as wazīr. The news of the assassination reached them at Dāmaghīn, and they halted there until Barikyāruq joined them in person on 5th Jumada I. As was to be expected, his march through Khurasan was in the nature of a triumphal progress; after the tyranny of Arslān Arghūn the cities welcomed the restoration of imperial rule and opened their gates without opposition. Arslān's askar, with the young prince, fled from Balkh into the mountains of Tukhāristān, and opened negotiations for their surrender and amnesty. Barkiyāruq granted the request, and the whole force, 15,000 in number, was incorporated in the imperial armies. After completing the re-occupation of Khurāsān by taking Tirmidh, Barkiyāruq remained for seven months at Balkh, occupied partly in regulating the situation in Transoxania,² where the Qāraqhīnid ruler Ahmad had been put to death for heresy in 488, and partly in putting down (by means of Sanjar) a revolt led by Amīr Amīrān (Md. b Suiaimān, a cousin of Malikshah) and supported by the Ghaznavid Sultān Ibrāhīm.

¹ Hāfiẓ Abrū f 218 b.

² See Barthold 318-9.

The intervention of the Ghaznavid introduced yet a third factor into the problem of holding Khurāsān. During the thirty years of Alp Arslān's and Malikshah's reign, Ibrāhīm had resigned himself to the loss of Khurāsān and cultivated a policy of peace, cemented by matrimonial alliances, with the Saljūqs, while extending his rule in the Panjab. But the un settlement which had followed the death of Malikshah revived his hopes of regaining his ancestral territories. He formally adopted the title of Sultān,¹ and now gave his support to Amīr Amīrān on the express condition that he should be recognised in the Khuṭbah in all the territories recovered. A second motive for his intervention may also be discerned in the fact that Arslān Arghūn had been married to one of his daughters.

¹ See Encyc. of Islam s. v. *Ghaznavide*, p. 157, Vol. II. Since the publication of Lane Poole's Catalogue, two gold coins of Ibrāhīm's reign have been acquired by the British Museum, one dated 460 A. H. and the date of the other is obliterated. But there is no mention of Ibrāhīm as Sultān on any one of them, although on his undated silver coins he styles himself as Sultān, Sayyid al-Sulāṭīn and al-Sultān al-A'zam. So it cannot be precisely determined at present from what year he formally adopted this title in competition with the Saljūqs. The Ghaznavids after Sultān Māhmud were, however, called sultāns by courtesy. Lane Poole's Catalogue, 558, 560. Additions to Vol. II, pp 237, 243. See *ante*, p. 53, Hāfiẓ Abrū f 220 b.

The brief account of the rising given by Ibn al-Athīr renders it difficult to estimate the extent and seriousness of the movement. Apparently some districts were captured¹ with the aid of a strong Ghaznavid force, which included elephants, but it collapsed when Amīr Amīrān was captured in a surprise attack by the troops of Sanjar and blinded. The death of Ibrāhīm two years later and the energetic government of Sanjar precluded any further attempts to revive the Ghaznavid claims.

On the return of Barkiyāruq to 'Irāq in the latter part of 490, Sanjar was left behind at Balkh. The opportunity was seized by Qūdun, who had remained behind at Merv on a pretext of illness; in conjunction with another amīr, Yāruqtāsh, he seized and put to death Ikinjī, the governor of Khwarizm, and took possession of his province, ostensibly in the name of the Sultān. Barkiyāruq first continued his march to Irāq to deal with a revolt which had broken out there, and subsequently detached Dād Ḥabashī b Altuntag to deal

¹ The statement in the printed text of I. A. (110) (ed. Tornberg X, 181) that Amīr Amīrān began his revolt at Balkh is probably to be rejected. Ibn al-Athīr has previously stated that Barkiyāruq stayed at Balkh for seven months, and the words 'wa tawajjaha ilā Balkh' are missing in two MSS. As no dates are mentioned, however, it is possible that the revolt broke out when Barkiyāruq had already left Balkh on his return march.

with the two amirs. Dād-beg succeeded in dislodging them and appointed Muḥammad b Anū-shtakīn to the position of Khwārizm-shah, himself remaining wālī of Khurāsān. Qūdun was pardoned by Sanjar, but died shortly afterwards; Yāruqtāsh remained in prison, to play a part later on.

In contrast to his energetic intervention in Khurāsān, Barkiyāruq left Syria entirely alone.

The first, and principal reason, was no doubt his preoccupation with the situation in Khurāsān, and by the time he returned to ‘Irāq, the advent of the Crusaders had already changed the aspect of affairs in Syria. But on the other hand, Syria had always been, and remained, a minor appendage of the Saljūqid Empire. Malikshah's rare appearances within its boundaries had been solely for the purpose of preventing his brother or his cousin of Rūm from becoming too powerful. For a brief moment, Tutush had loomed up menacingly, but with his death Syria relapsed—from the point of view of the Sultān—into its old unimportance, unless, indeed, Qilij Arslān of Rūm should emulate his father's ambitious projects. The weakling sons of Tutush, Rudwān and Duqāq, had flown at each other's throats with the usual entourage of ambitious amīrs to egg them on.¹ There was no danger to be apprehended there, even if either

¹ Gibb., 30-31.

or both of them were to refuse to acknowledge his suzerainty, which was unlikely. It is true that for a moment Rūdwan, hoping to attract Egyptian aid against Duqāq (or under the influence of Ismā‘īlī missionaries—for Shi‘ism had a strong hold in Aleppo), had been seduced into acknowledging the Fātimid Caliph of Cairo (490), but his Amirs had quickly intervened.¹

Then, while Barkiyāruq was still in Khurāsān, the Frankish armies had appeared before Antioch and shortly afterwards occupied al-Ruhā. Karbūqā of Mawsil attempted to form a coalition against them, but his action was taken, it would seem, entirely on his own initiative, since it is nowhere stated that he was ordered to intervene by either Sultān or Caliph. When his attempt failed, mainly through the intrigues of Rūdwan, and Antioch was finally captured, the Caliph addressed a remonstrance to Barkiyāruq, urging him to take the field against the Franks before they became too firmly established. The appeal went unheeded, and neither then nor at any later period of his reign, did Barkiyāruq, hard pressed by internal difficulties, show the slightest desire to intervene in the affairs of Syria.

The remaining years of Barkiyāruq’s reign (490-98) were a period of strife with Md., who

¹ The Khutbah in the Egyptian Caliph’s name was continued for four Fridays only. I. A., 111-12. Yafi’ f 250 b.

ustained a claim to the Sultānate. The history of their struggle for the throne of the Saljūquid Empire is a complicated narrative of battles, compromises and treaties until the death of Barkiyāruq and the accession of Md. temporarily put an end to the civil war.

The first of these conflicts came when Mu'ayyid al-Mulk and Unar decided to fight for Md.'s cause. The first was the former wazīr of Barkiyāruq and the second the wāli of Fārs. Both of whom were dismissed from office by the Sultān and thus became his enemies. Fighting was imminent, when Unar was murdered by some of his men.¹ Although that relieved Barkiyāruq of a dangerous foe, he still had the difficult task of subjugating Md. and Mu'ayyid al-Mulk. The situation was made more difficult by the murder of his wazīr, Balāsānī, and the desertion of many of his followers. He had therefore to retire from his present headquarters at Rayy to Isfahān, where the inhabitants, fearing molestation by the soldiers, refused him admission in their city while Md. was

¹ According to Qazwīnī, Unar was murdered by the Bātinis at Sawah on his way to Khurāsān in the beginning of Muḥarram 492: Tarikhī Guzidah 44, Fāid Allāh f306, named as Bulkābak Unar Bulkābak are same person as Rashīd al-Dīn puts both the parts together f. 112 b. Yazdī's version Unar wa Bulkābak is rather misleading (p. 75), the more so as he mentions him only as Isfahsalār Unar in p. 77.

marching on his trail. Barkiyārūq proceeded to Wāsit, and after his army was reinforced by Ṣadaqah together with his followers, they went to Baghdād on 17 Ṣafar 493/1099, where the Caliph presented him with robes of honour.¹

Encouraged by his considerable forces and the religious backing of the Caliph, Barkiyāruq thought himself sufficiently powerful to come into open battle with Md. This proved to be a bitter disillusion, for when he finally started fighting at Safidrūd² on 4 Rajab 493/1100, his army was routed and he was forced to flee to Utumah with only fifty men. Md. then approached the Caliph to recite the *Khutbah* in his name, and the Caliph could do nothing but confirm his claim.³

In the meantime Barkiyāruq seems to have recovered from his first defeat by Md. He raised recruits from the surrounding provinces and marched to Isfahān by way of Nīshāpūr, Jurjān and Dāmaghān.⁴ The number of his followers increased during the march and Md. becoming aware of the situation, hastened to the capital and

¹ I. A., 121.

² Situated at a distance of several farsakhs from Hamadān; I. A., 122. 20,000 warriors fought for Md. in this battle.

³ See *ante*, pp. 57-59.

⁴ Where Barkiyāruq and Amīr Dād, its wālī, fought a successful battle with Sanjar in the field of Nūshjān. I. A., 123.

forced his antagonist to take a different line of progress. Barkiyāruq thus went to Hamadān by way of Samiram and Khuzistān where he was reinforced by Bursuq's sons, Zankī and Abakī — together with their troops. At Hamadān he further received the support of Ayāz as a result of his suspicion that Md.'s wazir, Mu'ayyid al-Mūlk had poisoned his (Ayāz's) father by adoption.¹ The second battle between the two contestants took place at Hamadān on 3 Jumada II 494/1101, and the tide this time turned in Barkiyāruq's favour, for Md. was defeated and his wazir was captured and put to death. The immediate result of this battle was the re-establishment of Barkiyāruq's influence and the flight of Md. to Jurjān in Khurāsān. This province was ruled by his brother, Sanjar, Barkiyāruq's enemy.²

The two brothers then marched with their Amīrs from Jurjān to Rayy, where they were reinforced by the Niẓāmites and other mercenary troops. Meanwhile Barkiyāruq's victory attracted many followers to his camp near Rayy. His army rose to the number of 100,000 and included many Bātinīs. It became too unwieldy to control and too numerous to supply with the necessary

¹ The Amīr Ākhur. I. A., 125.

² After disbandment, Dubais returned to his father at Hillah, and Karbūqā was sent with 10,000 horsemen to Ādharbajān to subdue the rebellious Maudūd b. Ismā'il b. Yāqūtī. I. A., 126.

provisions. He had, therefore, to disband a considerable portion¹ of his followers, while others left the camp in quest of food. With this depleted army, Barkiyāruq had to face the combined forces of Md. and Sanjar, but seeing no prospect of victory in the circumstances, he preferred to retreat to Hamadān to join Ayāz, whom he had previously sent there on the occasion of the Ramadān fast. On the way, however, he had to stop the march owing to the treacherous behaviour of Ayāz, who offered allegiance to Md. to save his own province, and Barkiyāruq had to retire again to Khuzistān, then to Irāq in search of help. Near Tustar he invited the sons of Bursuq without any response from them.²

After a circuitous march to Baghdād, followed by Md. and Sanjar, Barkiyāruq became seriously ill at the capital. To avoid the danger of a clash with the enemy the nobles carried the Sultān in a litter, crossed the Tigris and pitched a temporary camp at Ramlah. From there they proceeded to Wāsit. There he recovered from his illness and the troops of Wāsit joined his forces. This encouraged him to meet Md. for a decisive battle and he marched to Rūdawār. Md. had arrived at Baghdād³ and,

¹ Who being a full brother of Md. naturally took his side against Barkiyāruq. Moreover, Sanjar used to abhor Barkiyāruq's reckless ways of life. I. A., 145.

² I. A., 127.

³ On the arrival of Md. and Sanjar the Caliph Musta-

instigated by the Caliph, he also marched to Rūdra-wār. The rival forces were almost equal at this battle—each numbering about 10,000 horsemen. On the first day no fighting took place on account of the extremely cold weather. In the meantime, negotiations were exchanged between the two claimants for an amicable settlement to avoid bloodshed. They were able to patch up a pact the terms of which are mentioned elsewhere.¹ Barkiyāruq retained his title and the empire was divided between the two brothers. Barkiyāruq proceeded to Sāwah and Md. to Asadabād, while their armies retired to their fiefs.

The pact, however, was far from being a permanent settlement; for Md. soon accused the envoys who concluded it, of treason, and arrogated to himself the honour of five bands reserved for the Sultān. This was a breach of the terms with Barkiyāruq who surprised his brother at Rayy in Jumada I 495/1101, and the fourth battle took place. The parties were equally balanced, each having 10,000 horsemen. Md. was the loser this time. After his defeat he retired to Isfahān. Barkiyāruq followed him, and his forces increased on the way by 5,000 horsemen. He set siege to the city, within the walls of which Md. had only 11,000 horsemen and 500 footmen. The siege

z̄hir billah presented them with two banners with his own hand. Stowe Or 7 f 44 a.

¹ Chap. 1, p. 3. *ante.*

was prolonged and the besieged became short of provisions. Md. therefore, had to leave Isfahān secretly. When the news of his flight reached Barkiyāruq, he sent Ayāz to capture him, but without success.¹ Barkiyāruq withdrew from the city and returned to Hamadān on 18 Dhulhijjah, 495/1102, leaving his son, Malikshah at-Shahristān Tarshak with 1,000 horsemen.

Rayy had been the halting place of some of Md.'s men who were on their way to reinforce his army at Isfahān without knowing of his secret flight.² Learning, however, of the escape of Md. from Isfahān, they set out and met him at Hamadān, and the number of the combined forces rose to 6,000 horsemen. Just before Barkiyāruq's arrival they had been divided into two sections—the one under Yanāl and his brother 'Ali marching in the direction of Rayy while the other proceeded to Shirwān. Before arriving at Shirwān, however, this last section won the support of Maudūd b Ismā'il at Ardabīl. The sudden death of Maudūd at this time did not change the resolution of his troops to fight under Md.'s banner. The joint army therefore went to Khuy in Adharbaijān,

¹ According to another version of Ibn-al-Athīr, Ayāz caught up with him but left him alone after taking away his standard and three loads of dīnārs, p 139.

² They were under the command of Quizughli accompanied by Mānsūr b Nisām al-Mulk and his nephew Md. b Mu'ayyid al-Mulk. I.A., 150.

at the gate of which Barkiyāruq overtook them and the fifth and last battle took place between the two brothers on Jumada II 496/1103. Md. was defeated and fled to Tirmidh by way of Arjish, Khilāt and Aāni with a few of his followers and finally went to Tabriz. After a few days' rest on a verdant mountain¹ Barkiyāruq journeyed to Zanjān, and then to Rayy.

While Md. was at Tabriz and Barkiyāruq at Rayy, negotiations were begun to settle their long-standing dispute.² The insecure position of the first owing to the last defeat, and the difficult circumstances of the second, arising from the need of money to satisfy his victorious but turbulent troops, created a favourable atmosphere for the establishment of peace between the two. Barkiyāruq retained his title of Sultān and Md. his right to the 'band' (naubah). Further, Barkiyāruq's name was not to be mentioned in the Khuṭbah in Md.'s provinces. No correspondence was to be exchanged directly between the two monarchs—their wazirs should attend to that. The subjects were given the option of joining the army of either at their own choice without interference from the other.³ Such precarious terms appear to have

¹ I.A., 151.

² The envoys reached Md. while he was near Marāghah. I.A., 154. See *ante*, p. 51.

³ After the ratification of the treaty, Barkiyāruq presented 300 she-camels and 120 mules' load of other things

left the two antagonists in as anomalous a position as before, and the peace of the empire of the Saljūqs was maintained partly on account of the exhaustion on both sides, but chiefly because the remaining period of Barkiyāruq's reign was a very short one.

The Sultān became seriously ill at Isfahān and Ilghāzī took him in a litter in the direction of Baghdād. On the way however, at Burūjird¹ his condition became very critical and he had to halt there for forty days until his death. Before the end, he summoned his amīrs and declared to them his intention to nominate his son Malikshāh, a boy of four years and eight months as his successor, with Ayāz as his Atābeg. The amīrs recognised his will and swore to uphold it. Then the Sultān died on 12 Rabī' II, 498/1104, at the age of twenty-five,² and was carried to Isfahān where he was buried with his ancestors.³

He was generous, patient, forbearing and considerate according to Ibn al-Athīr, who does not, perhaps owing to a saying of the Prophet,⁴

to the family of Md. while they were leaving Isfahān.
I.A., 155.

¹ 18 farsakhs from Hamadān, Wafayāt, Vol. I, 251.

² Bundārī, 83, Mirkhwānd, 161.

³ I.A., 158. According to Rashid al-Dīn on Thursday
2 Rabī' II. f. 144 3.

⁴ Udhkurū mahāsina mautākum. "Mention the good qualities of your dead."

record any of his vices. On the other hand, from *Bundārī*,¹ Stowe Or 7² and *Jurjānī*³ it is quite clear that he was addicted to drinking and other vices. Ibn al-*Athīr*, however, says elsewhere by the way, that Barkiyāruq appointed his singer Wali of Mārdīn, from which we can easily infer that he was also a passionate lover of music.⁴

Ayāz, *Ilghāzī* and the party reached *Bağhdād* with Malikshah, after having been delayed by inclement weather on 17 *Rabī' II*, 498/1104, for the formal confirmation of the new *Sultān* to his office. The *Khuṭbah* was delivered in his name under the title of *Jalāl al-Daulah* at the instance of *Ilghāzī* and *Tughayāruq* on the last Friday of the month, and money was distributed amongst the people in honour of the occasion.⁵ Probably, *Ilghāzī* and others, who were once champions of the cause of Md. were actuated by the motive of self-interest in preferring an infant and docile *Sultān* to a virile and energetic one.

¹ P. 78.

² f. 43 b.

³ f. 108 b.

⁴ I.A., 163.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF MUHAMMAD B. MALIKSHAH

Rabi' II 498/1104-Dhū'l-hijjah 511/1118

After the struggles which filled the reign of Barkiyāruq and seemed to herald the dissolution of the Saljūqid Empire, the accession of Sultān Muḥammad opened a period in which the imperial power reasserted itself in an effort to regain the prestige and authority which it had well-nigh lost. By the historians he is always celebrated as the Sultān “who restored the fortunes of the Saljūqs which had declined since the death of Malik-shah.”¹ He “fought infidels and sectarians in his zeal for Sunnī Islām² and the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate’ and “was the perfect man of the Saljūqs and their strong he-camel.”³

¹ Encyclopaedia of Islām, Vol. III, p. 673.

² This is undoubtedly one of the causes that led Ghazali to address his *Tibr al-Masbūk*, Ibn al-Balkhi to dedicate his *Fārs-nāmah* to him and the Sunnī chroniclers to sing his praises. Encyclopaedia of Islām, Vol. II, p. 146. Ibn al-Balkhi, p. 1, Rashīd al-Din, f. 114 b. Stowe. Or 7 f. 45 a. Bundārī, 81. Nay, some of them even went to the extent of wrongly attributing to him some of the Indian conquests of Sultān Mahmud of Ghaznah in order to put a halo of imaginary glory around their hero. Qazwīnī, Nuzhat 56.

³ Encyclopaedia of Islām, Vol. III, p. 674. Bundārī, 108.

At the time of the death of Barkiyāruq, Md. was engaged in the siege of Mawṣil against Jakarmish who, however, after due deliberation with his civil and military officials, on hearing the news of Barkiyāruq's death, submitted to him.¹ In 'Irāq, Barkiyāruq's death supplied Ṣadaqah with a golden opportunity of attacking Ilghāzī and his party, from which he had desisted rather unwillingly a few months earlier. Ṣadaqah mustered a huge army of 15,000 horsemen and 10,000 infantry and sent his sons Budran and Dubais to Mawsil to invite and perhaps more accurately to incite Md. to march on Bagh̄dad.² Accordingly, Md. proceeded to the Metropolis with Suqman Qutbi, Jakarmish and other amīrs. Ayāz, on the other hand, still committed to the cause of Barkiyāruq's young son Malikshah, prepared to resist him. On hearing of Md.'s approach, he came out of Bagh̄dād with his followers and encamped at Zāhir. He further conferred with his amīrs who swore allegiance to him in the forthcoming fighting. Yanāl and Sabawā favoured a resort to arms in support of the cause of the

¹ I.A., 160.

² I.A., 160. Here Rāwandi (p. 153), Qazwini (p. 454), Rashid al-Dīn and Mirkhwānd (p. 162) confuse the two distinct events—deaths of Ayāz (1105) and Ṣadaqah (1108). These chroniclers mistakenly state Ṣadaqah to be an enemy of Md. at this time, while he was an ally ; he actually became an enemy three years after. *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. III, p. 138.

boy Sultān ; but the Wazīr Safi Abul-Mahāsin advised him to the contrary. Being undecided as to whether a policy of conflict would succeed, Ayāz adopted the safer attitude of compromise. After the exchange of envoys with Md. who had now reached the neighbourhood of Baghdād ready for battle, an agreement was reached whereby amnesty was declared in favour of all but Yanal and Sabāwā.¹ Thus Md. became the undisputed Sultān.

Ayāz's submission, however, did not save him from the new Sultān, who was enraged by an unfortunate incident in Ayāz's house during celebrations to commemorate the settlement of peace in the land. Md. noticed that one of Ayaz's men had a coat of mail under his shirt. This made him suspicious. He left his host's house and decided to rid himself of an uncertain follower. Later, he summoned Ayāz to a council of state and put him to violent death by ordering one of his slaves to strike him on the head as he entered into the Sultān's presence.² As soon as the news of Ayāz's murder spread, his own troops hastened to their master's

¹ Alkiya al-Harrās, the teacher at the Nizāmiyah, administered the oath to Md. on this occasion. Md. treated his nephew Malikshah as his own son. I.A., 161.

² He was forty at the time of his death on 13 Jumada I, 498/1105. His body was thrown on the street near the Dīwān. *Ibid.*, 162.

house and pillaged it, while his Wazīr, Ṣafi became a fugitive, but was ultimately arrested and also put to death at the age of thirty-six, in Rāmādān 498/1105.¹

In the following year (499/1106) Md. was called upon to deal swiftly with the revolt of Mankū-bars and a false prophet at Nihāwand. Mankū-bars was soon arrested by Md.'s allies, Banu Bursuq, and carried to Isfahān where he was imprisoned by the Sultān. The false prophet was mercilessly put to death.² Comparatively free from internal disputes and dissensions at his Court, Md.'s next action was to turn against the Bātinīs in 500/1107. That sect had, during the stormy reign of Barkiyāruq, established itself in many mountain fortresses, with their headquarters at Alamūt. The Sultān had no difficulty in capturing many of these strongholds,³ but in spite of repeated expeditions Alamūt

¹ He came of the family of the Rā'is of Hamadān. I.A., 162.

² So the inhabitants used to say: "Within two months two men appeared to us, one claiming the title of Sultān and the other that of a prophet, but neither of them succeeded in his ambition." I.A., 166. Sibṭ Ibn-al Jauzī, p. 10.

³ He personally besieged the fort of Shahdiz near Isfahān on 6 Sha'bān 500/1107. I.A., 181, I.Q., 151. His Wazīr, Sa'd al-Mulk was involved in secret correspondence with Ibn Attash. Bundārī, 85; Yazdī, 83; Rāwandi, 153. Le Strange is wrong in putting the construction of this fort by Malikshah in the year 500/1107 (*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 205) as it involves a serious anachronism.

itself was never completely captured, although throughout his reign the work of Bātīnī persecution and the campaign against those heretics never really ceased.¹

Turning to a different field in Syria, we find that the capture of Tripoli by the Crusaders in 502/1109 and their renewed operations against Aleppo, occasioned a fresh appeal from the population of the threatened city to both the Caliph and the Sultān for concerted action against the Franks. Before the arrival of the envoys, an ambassador of the Byzantine emperor reached Baghdād to negotiate an alliance with the Muslims against the Franks. The advent of the latter on the scene left no room for hesitation in the minds of the public, and the festivities of the Sultān's sister's marriage to the Caliph, then being celebrated, had to be interrupted for a council of war.²

On the Caliph's advice the Sultān ordered the amīrs present to return to their provinces and

¹ In Muḥarram 508/1109 Aḥmad b Nizām al-Mulk, the wazir, besieged Alamūt, but the expedition returned without any operations owing to the advent of winter. I.A., 202. Again, just before the death of the Sultān, Amīr Shīrgīr was sent to capture it, but this time too, the death of the Sultān intervened and the besieging troops scattered without listening to the good counsels of their commander. I.A., 222. Qazwini, 456. T. Gazidah, Dhahabi, f. 98 b.

² I.A., 204; I. Q., 173.

equip themselves for a holy war. He sent his son Mas'ūd with Maudūd to Mawsil. The amīrs gathered together from all parts of the empire and marched towards Sanjar.¹ They seized many Frankish forts on the way. The Muslim army, however, broke up after the death of Suqmān, and the illness of Bursuq b Bursuq gave the amīrs an opportunity to revive old personal jealousies and dissensions. Maudūd alone continued the contest by annual expeditions into Syria, until after a successful campaign in Palestine in 507/1113, he was assassinated in Damascus.² After his death Tamīrak took possession of his equipment and carried them to Sultān Md. His successors at Mawsil became embroiled with Ilghāzī of Mārdīn.³

The receipt of threatening letters from the Sultān decided the latter to seek refuge in Syria, where he made common cause with Tuḡtagīn who also was apprehensive of the Sultān's vengeance for the murder of Maudūd, which was attributed to him. Both malcontents agreed to defy the Sultān and to form a coalition with the Franks.⁴

¹ The following amīrs took part in this expedition in addition to Maudud of Mawsil:—Suqmān Qutbī of Tabriz, Ilbaki and Zanki of Hamadān, Ahmad II of Marāghah, Ayāz b Ilghāzī of Mārdīn as a deputy of his father and the Bakjite amīrs. I. A., 205.

² I. Q., 159. I. A., 209. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī, p. 31.

³ I. A., 211.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 211, 212; other amīrs accompanying him were Juyushbeg and Kantghadi.

Sultān Md. on hearing this news of the rebellion of Ilghāzī and Tughtagīn, despatched an expedition under Bursuq b. Bursuq of Hamadān in Ramadān 508/1115 to punish the rebels and take action against their allies, the Franks. Bursuq succeeded in capturing Hamah from Tughtagīn, and having sacked it for three days, handed it over to Qirkhan, the wāli of Hims, under instructions from the Sultān, as a reward for his loyalty.¹

Eventually, however, after suffering a severe defeat at the hands of Roger of Antioch, he fled with his brother Zanki, and both brothers died in bitter disappointment in 510/1115.²

As a result of this rout the Muslims of Syria were stricken by fear, and Tughtagīn visited Baghdād to make his peace with Sultān Md. who pardoned him and presented him with a robe of honour.³

The intrigues of the self-seeking wālis now turned against one another as there was no rival Sultān in the arena. At first Rudwān of Aleppo collected a huge army to fight the crusaders. Ilghāzī, Şabāwā, Ilbi also joined hands with him. But Ilghāzī, probably owing to some personal grudge, though under a different cover, suggested an attack upon the province of Jakarmish, to which Ilbi, for similar reasons, readily agreed.

¹ I. A., 215.

² *Ibid.* 215.

³ *Ibid.* 217.

So they besieged Nasibīn in Ramadān 499/1106 with 10,000 horsemen, in the absence of Jakarmish, who was at Hamah for a change of climate. Two of his amīrs fought the invading army from within the city wall. Ilbi was seriously wounded by an arrow and left for Sanjar. On hearing this news, Jakarmish immediately proceeded to Mawsil where the panic-stricken inhabitants of Sawād had already taken refuge. He encamped at the gate of the city for a battle with Ruḍwān, but in the long run, he had recourse to milder diplomacy by setting Ruḍwān against Ilghāzī.¹ Accordingly, Ilghāzī was arrested and his numerous Turkmen followers broke up and plundered the country. Ruḍwān now returned to Aleppo, while Jakarmish marched to Sanjar to punish Ilbi for his misbehaviour. Ruḍwān in turn sent messengers to Jakarmish while he was at Sanjar, asking for his help against the Franks. Jakarmish fraudulently promised him help which he did not render in time of need. Ilbi was seriously ill, perhaps as a result of the arrow-wound. He was brought out in a litter to offer welcome and apologies to Jakarmish. The latter was moved to pity and at once sent him back to the city. Ilbi, however, died soon after, and his followers rebelled against Jakarmish and resisted him successfully till the end of Shawwāl 499/1106, when Tamīrak, uncle

¹ I. A., 169.

of Ilbi, intervened and restored good relations with Jakarmish. Being assured of their allegiance, Jakarmish returned to Mawṣil.¹ On the other hand, his followers at Harran surrendered the town to Qiliç Arslān in the vain hope of fighting the Franks at Ruhā, which was abandoned owing to the sudden sickness of Qiliç.²

Now, the doom of Ṣadaqah was drawing nigh. He was generously treated by Sultān Md. for his past services and implicit obedience. Wāsit and Baṣrah were granted to him as additional fiefs. These favours, unfortunately, made him rather officious and overbearing. He gave refuge to every malcontent that escaped from the Caliph and the Sultān.³ This naturally turned the Sultān's mind against him. Furthermore, ‘Amīd Abū Ja‘far and Arghūn Sa‘dī at court did all they could to alienate Md. from Ṣadaqah.⁴ They even went to the extent of falsely accusing him and his followers of the Bātīnī heresy, an accusation which had no basis of truth, as it is certain that Ṣadaqah was only a Shi‘ite.⁵ All these circumstances grouped together had their disastrous result on

¹ I.A., 170.

² *Ibid.*, 173. He then returned to Maṭāiyah.

³ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī, p. 10. In 500 Abulqasim Ibn Jahīr, the Caliph's dismissed wazir, took refuge with him. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ I.Q., 159.

⁵ I.A., 185.

Şadaqah. The immediate cause of the rupture was, however, that Abu Dulaf Sarkhab b Kaikhusrāw of Sawah and Abah took refuge with Şadaqah from the wrath of the Sultān, who wrote to his vassal asking him to surrender the fugitive to the Sultān's representative. Unfortunately, Şadaqah refused to obey his master's orders and further acted in such a way as to exasperate Md. who marched to 'Irāq to investigate into the matter and punish the culprits.¹

On hearing the news of the forthcoming expedition against him, Şadaqah held a council of his followers for a decision as to the right course of action. His son Dubais wisely advised him to conciliate the Sultān. On the other hand, Sa'īd b Hamīd, Şadaqah's rash and pretentious general, insisted on a declaration of war and mustered an army of 20,000 horsemen² and 30,000 footmen. The Caliph repeatedly tried to mediate for peace but in vain. After the final failure of peace overtures, the Sultān sent Amīr Md. b. Būqā, the Turkmen, to evict Şadaqah's deputy from Wāsit. After doing so, Md. b Būqā marched to Qūsān, a district of Şadaqah, and ruthlessly sacked it. Şadaqah,

¹ The army of the Sultān reached Baghdād at the end of Rabi' II, 501. I.Q., 159. According to I.A. on 20 Rabi' II, accompanied by Ahmād b Nizām al-Mulk, his wazīr, p. 185.

² Composed of Kurds, Turks, Dialamites and Arabs. Stowe, Or. 7, f. 45 b.

on his part, sent his cousin, Thābit, to repel Md. b Būqā. In a skirmish on the bank of the Sālim, Thābit was routed.¹

At the end of Jumada I, 501/1107, the Sultān gave Wāsit as a fief to Bursuqī and ordered Ibn Būqā to attack and sack the province of Ṣadaqah, which was accordingly badly ravaged. The Sultān himself marched from Baghādād to Za'farāniyah on 2 Jamada II. But having been requested by the Caliph, through his Wazīr Ibn Muṭṭalib, he stopped his march for a time, more especially as the Qādi of Ispahān also advised him to act in conformity with the Caliph's suggestion. Meanwhile the latter sent a letter to Ṣadaqah with the chief *naqīb*, 'Ali b Tarrād and Mukhtas, the eunuch, ordering him to submit to the Sultān. This time Ṣadaqah submitted and was on the point of despatching his son Dubais to the Sultān with two envoys, but the turbulent Turks became discontented and tried to lay hands on some booty before the signing of a treaty. So they crossed the Tigris and attacked the army of Ṣadaqah without the authorisation of the Sultān. They were, however, disappointed, as they were soon defeated by the Arabs.²

When this news reached Ṣadaqah, he naturally became suspicious and demanded security and safe conduct for his son Dubais from the envoys. This

¹ I.A., 186.

² *Ibid.*, 187.

they did not dare to give, so he wrote to the Caliph explaining his failure to send his son owing to the adverse events which had since taken place. The Caliph renewed his correspondence for peace with Ṣadaqah. A provisional settlement was about to be arranged, the first condition of which was that Ṣadaqah should set all the captives free and restore all the properties that were taken by the Arabs from the Turks at the last encounter. Ṣadaqah again became suspicious and hesitatingly sent some counter-proposals claiming the restoration of all that was taken by the army of the Sultān from his province, as well as the confirmation of the grant of Sawah as the fief of Sarkhāb b Kaikhusraw and the sworn guarantee of the Caliph's Wazīr for the observance of these terms.¹

The envoys came back with these proposals and Abu Mansūr b Ma'rūf, the plenipotentiary of Ṣadaqah. They were again sent to Ṣadaqah by the Caliph and the Sultān to effect acceptance of the Sultān's original offer. In his turn, Ṣadaqah insisted on his own terms. Hence arbitration by force of arms became more and more inevitable every day. So the Sultān marched from Za'faraniah on 8th Rajab 501/1108 and Ṣadaqah also marched to the village of Matr. Thābit, cousin of Ṣadaqah, went over to the Sultān's side as he was jealous of Ṣadaqah. The troops of the Sultān

¹ I. A., 188.

crossed the Tigris and encountered the enemy on 19 Rajab.¹ The wind was at first adverse to the Sultān's army, but afterwards changed and became favourable to them.² The 'Abādah and the Khafājah tribes betrayed Ṣadaqah in the field, as they had suffered very greatly from his past policy of "divide and rule." Ṣadaqah, therefore, sustained a crushing defeat and was ultimately decapitated³ by a slave called Buzghush, at the age of fifty-nine. His head was carried to Bursuqi who presented it to the Sultān to take it to Baghdād. More than 3,000 of his cavalry were killed. His son Dubais, his Commander Sa'īd and Sarkhāb who was the cause of the war, were taken captives. His son Budrān fled to Hillah and sent his mother and wives to his father-in-law Muhadhdhib, the wālī of Baṭīhah. Later on, Ṣadaqah's widow was brought to Baghdād by order of the Sultān and treated very courteously. He further set her son Dubais free, on being assured of his allegiance. Ṣadaqah had been amīr for twenty-one years. He built Hillah in 395/1101-2. He was a master of

¹ According to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī (p. 16) after Friday prayers on 16 Rajab.

² From this natural phenomenon Zahir al-Din Nishāpūrī invented a fanciful story about the appearance of a dragon in the sky as a divine favour to Md., and it has been copied and misplaced by later chroniclers in their zeal for him. *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. III, p. 139.

³ Yafi'i, f. 254 b.

the art of riding and possessed a ready wit, but could not write. His library contained thousands of volumes. He was a father to his people.¹

Turning from the events which had ended in the death of Ṣadaqah in ‘Irāq, to the situation in the North Eastern section of the Saljūqid Empire, we find that Sanjar, Sultān Md.’s brother had become the central figure in the activities that led to the subjugation of unruly amīrs.²

Md. Khān of Transoxania was overboldened by the final defeat of Sāghirbeg in 503/1109-10.³ He behaved tyrannically towards his people and even disregarded the orders of Sanjar who, therefore, organised an expedition against him in 507/1113-4. Afraid of disastrous consequences Md. Khān sought the mediation of the amīrs Qumāi⁴ and Khwārizmshah. On their request Sanjar agreed to pardon him on condition that he should come to Sanjar’s court and “tread his carpet.”⁵ Being suspicious of Sanjar’s intention, Md. Khān rode to the eastern bank of the Jehun and there dismounted and “kissed the ground” while Sanjar was riding on the western bank. After reconciliation they returned to their respective territories.

¹ He never married a second wife nor kept a concubine. I. A., 189. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī, p. 16.

² Yazdi, 95, *et seq.*; Rāwandī, 168, *et seq.*

³ I. A., 201.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 209. He was the right-hand man of Sanjar at this time.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 209.

The Ghaznawids were considerably weakened by the Saljūqids, although they retained their titles as kings. During the governorship of Sanjar, another opportunity occurred for intervention in the affairs of Ghaznah. On the death of 'Alā al-Daulah in Shawwāl 508/1115, his son Arslān Shah¹ succeeded him and for fear of dispute in the matter of the succession, he imprisoned all his brothers, one of whom, Bahrām, escaped and took refuge with Sanjar, who supported his cause.² Meanwhile, Arslān courted Sultān Md's favour by sending an envoy to complain against Sanjar.³ Md. wished to issue instructions to Sanjar to desist from invading Ghaznawid territory but it was too late, as the army of Sanjar had already approached Bust. After desperate fighting at Masharabad the Ghaznawid army was defeated and Sanjar entered Ghaznah with Bahrām on 20 Shawwāl 510/1117. He enthroned Bahrām who, in his turn, did not desist from the pursuit of his brother until he had caught him. Arslān was strangled by him to avoid any further complications.⁵

¹ His mother was a Saljūqid, sister of Alp Arslān.

I. A., 212.

² I. A., 212.

³ See *ante*, p. 15.

⁴ Within a farsakh from Ghaznah ; in this battle Arslān had an army of 30,000 cavalry and a great number of infantry, together with 120 elephants, which caused a considerable consternation in the army of Sanjar inasmuch as they were on the verge of flight. I.A., 213, Rāwandī, 169.

⁵ I.A., 214.

The last but not the least of Sultān Md.'s attempts to subjugate or win over to his side all the important amirs within his empire was the episode in which Jawali came to the Sultān's camp at Isfahān. He had previously refused to aid the Sultān against the revolting Ṣadaqah¹ and thus incurred his suzarian's wrath. As a result of this behaviour, he became a hunted enemy of the Sultān and after a period of tribulation and uncertainty as to his fate, he decided to surrender himself and repent for all the misdeeds that he had committed.² He came to Isfahān incognito and through the intercession of his friend, Amīr Ḥusain, the Sultān pardoned him and installed him as Wāli of Fars. In recognition of this great favour,

¹ He even secretly sided with Ṣadaqah and incited him against the Sultān. I.A., 192.

² After leaving Mawṣil, when besieged by the Sultān's army at the end of 501, Jāwali went to Naṣibin to form a coalition against the Sultān with Ilghāzi who, however, tactfully avoided him as an undesirable ally. I.A., 193, I.Q., 160. Then he proceeded to Raḥbah where he was met by Budran and Mansur, sons of the deceased Ṣadaqah with whom he concluded an alliance against the Sultān. But being advised by Sabawa, the newly appointed wali of Raḥbah, he proceeded to Syria to fight the Franks. Meanwhile he secured some money and horses from Banū Numair and Ibn 'Ammār, and Amīr Ḥusain met him on a mission of peace from the Sultān which was, however, frustrated by the imprudent Maudūd. Next he seized Balis on 18 Ṣafar 502/108 and sacked it. Thus being

Jāwalī served Md. faithfully in his province by suppressing all the elements of dissension. On his way to Fars, he killed Baldajī, whose loyalty had come under suspicion and took possession of his fortress of Istakhr.¹ Another amīr, Hasan b al-Mubāriz,² was surprised and his forces were crushed. Hasan took to flight and after some negotiations he came to terms with Jāwalī and declared himself for his cause. Jāwalī then marched to Shīrāz and occupied Kazrun. He further besieged Abū Sa'd Md. b Mamas for two years and ultimately put him to death.³ The

fully equipped with men and money, he encountered the combined forces of Rudwan and his Frankish allies at Tell-Bāshir at the end of the month. While victory was within sight his troops deserted him as they thought he was not entitled to their allegiance after the capture of Mawṣil by Maudūd. After the defeat Sabawa marched to Syria, Budran to Qal'at Ja'bar, Ibn Jakarmish to Jazīrah and Jāwalī to Raḥbah, whence in fear of a raiding battalion of Maudūd's troops and confident of Husain's support he decided to surrender to the Sultān. I.A., 196.

¹ See *ante*, p. 6. I.A., 218.

² He was the head of the Shawānkārite amirs and was called Khusraw. *Ibid.*, 218.

³ After the protracted seige Jāwalī tried to compromise with Abu Sa'd, who was very arrogant at first. As, however, his provisions became depleted, he was forced to seek quarter from Jāwalī. The latter occupied the fort and granted him quarter. Afterwards Jāwalī treated him badly so he escaped, but was traced by a spy and put to death. I. A., 218.

district of Dārābjird was also seized and plundered. Next he turned against the amīr of Kirmān to punish him for the favour he had shown to Ibrāhīm, wāli of Dārābjird in his contest with Jāwalī.¹ This however, he found to be a task beyond his powers and the amīr of Kirmān inflicted a defeat upon him.² Jāwalī's position was further weakened by the untimely death of Jaghrī, the Sultān's son, who accompanied him on his journey. As he was preparing another expedition against Kirmān, death overtook him in 510/1116.

Meanwhile the amir of Kirmān had sent an envoy to the Sultān at Baghdād to stop the incursions of Jāwalī. The Sultān replied by ordering him to surrender Farj and satisfy Jāwalī, whose

¹ Seeing the natural defensive points of their hill fortress of Rananaḥ too strong for him, Jāwalī made a false move towards the desert of Kirmān and came back as if the reinforcements from Kirmān were coming under Ibrāhīm. So the innocent inhabitants rejoiced and opened the gate, whereupon they were put to the sword, and their property was pilaged. *Ibid*, 219.

² This time the cunning Jāwalī was trapped as the army of Kirmān evaded the reconnoitering soldiers by following a bypath and surprised him by night while fast asleep under the influence of drink. The tongue of the first informer was cut off. The second time he realized the danger and rode out, but was defeated in Shawwāl 508/1115. I. A., 219.

death, however, made the situation critical and Md. himself had to take matters in hand.¹

At this critical juncture, Md. had to hurry from Baghdād to Isfahān, fearing an attack on Fars by the amir of Kirmān. But unfortunately, the end of the Sultān's life was approaching. He fell ill in Sha'ban and died on 24 Dhu'lhijjah 511/1118² at Isfahān after nominating his son Maḥmud, a boy of little more than fourteen, as his successor. Maḥmud was however, ousted by his uncle, Sanjar, who became the last of the Saljūqid Sultāns. Sanjar's long reign, comprising the downfall of the Saljūqid empire, would be a fit subject for independent research.

¹ *Ibid.* 219.

² *Tārikh-i-Gazidah*, p. 457. According to Stowe Or. 7 (f. 46 b) and Ibn al-Qalānisi (p. 198) the date of his death is 11 Dhu'lhijjah. He was aged 37 years and 4 months and 6 days. I. A., 221. Ameer 'Ali (p. 334) is wrong in putting the date of his death on 15 Dhu'lhijjah as it is unsupported by the authorities. According to Dhahabi (f. 98 b) he left for his son Maḥmud 11,000,000 dinārs in cash together with many other things (*min al-hawasil*). This proves Rāwandi's statement (p. 162) that he was fond of gathering wealth.

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